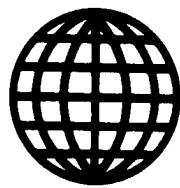


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14 AUGUST 1987

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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

***Korea***

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EAST ASIA

KOREA

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NODONG SINMUN ON WAR MANEUVERS IN SOUTH

SK140328 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2153 GMT 12 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 13 July commentary: "The Reckless Confrontation Attitude of Bellicose Elements"]

[Text] The South Korean puppets have deployed F-16 fighter-bombers, which they introduced from the United States for actual warfare. This was revealed by the puppet air force chief of staff at a meeting of key commanders on 10 July. Saying that they have attained remarkable augmentation in combat capabilities with this deployment, the puppets arbitrarily made belligerent remarks about the establishment of multifaceted preparations to counter someone's surprise attack and provocations. This is an open provocation against us, an indiscriminate rash act of bellicose elements, and their outrageous confrontation attitude.

Easing the acute political and military situation and preserving and consolidating peace on the Korean peninsula are an urgent demand of the times and the people. We have made every possible effort to this end. This is fully understandable only with our repeated peace proposals and initiative measures to ease tension and the fact that we have not intervened with force even when, like the people's June resistance this time, extreme unrest and a state of political turmoil have continued as a result of acute confrontation between democracy and fascism in South Korea.

This notwithstanding, who on earth is creating a threat and driving the fiery clouds of war? The U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan military clique of rascals are hellbent on new war provocation maneuvers while seeking a chance for armed provocations and aggression. Those who like a thief calling another a thief, have left South Korea to the U.S. imperialists as the largest nuclear war base in the Far East and, not content with this, are accelerating new war preparations, such as sharply increasing armed forces and further intensifying war exercises along with the U.S. imperialists, are abusing someone else to the contrary. This is ridiculous and brazen.

The puppets are making a din, coming out again with the nonexistent threat of southward invasion. This is a trick designed to hide their sordid nature as ringleaders in the aggravation of tension, destroyers of peace, and war igniters who tenaciously only seek confrontation by force with us by actively following the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war.

At present the adventurous new war provocation maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique, their lackeys, are arousing due alertness among the world's people. The voices denouncing the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets are more powerfully thundering than ever before everywhere in the world.

The wretches are trying to mislead public opinion through the disguise of the threat of southward invasion. Also hidden behind the puppets' holding a military meeting of key commanders and their propaganda on might is their sinister attempt to escape from crises in their military rule by threatening the people rising up in the anti-U.S. and antifascist resistance with force.

These unusual moves of the military and fascist forces, under the pretext of the threat of southward invasion, and the maneuvers of the puppets who are more frantically suppressing procommunism under the slogan of democratization, strongly hint that in case they cannot realize their criminal attempt to prolong the DJP's rule, they can, after all, ignite the fuse of war by involving us or go toward the road of indisguisedly extending the military dictatorship.

In whatever cases, however, the maneuvers of the puppets cannot escape from ruin. The road of military adventurism is the final way of the military dictatorship. The South Korean military clique of rascals must look straight at the present realities and act with discretion.

/9738  
CSO: 4110/209

OLYMPICS

KWANGBOK SPORTS CONSTRUCTION TIED TO WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

Pyongyang NODONG CHONGNYON in Korean 3 May 87 p 1

[Article by Pak Yon-Sil: "Kwangbok Sports Construction Tied to Festival"]

[Text] At present, the youth, students and workers of our country are vigorously launching grand preparations to make the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students to be held in Pyongyang during the summer of 1989 a great festival of the youth for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace, and goodwill in line with the concept of a sports festival of international youth and students and also in keeping with the demands of the current era.

Pyongyang's preparation for the festival is being energetically launched on an international scale with the active participation by not only the Korean youth and students but also the progressive students of the world.

Particularly, both international and regional, and national organizations are coming up with many worthwhile proposals to support the preparatory activities while showing a great interest in the Pyongyang festival.

In order to inspire the young members of the shock brigade of our country, who have stepped up construction for the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students, the secretariat of the International Students' League has informed the Korean Committee for Preparation of the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students that it has decided to present the groups and construction people who have demonstrated feats in the target construction for the festival with itinerant championship flags and prizes in the name of the secretariat of the International Students' League.

The proposal of the secretariat of the International Students' League greatly inspire the Korean youth who have come forward to make preparations for the festival, and also invokes positive support and solidarity among the progressive students of the world, who are expressing both great hope and interest in the Pyongayng festival.

The move of the progressive students of the world to ensure the success of the Pyongyang festival has also been manifested by their active fund-raising drives in numerous countries.

Youth organizations in many countries including the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, exultant over the holding of the 13th World

Festival of the Youth and Students in Pyongyang as if it were their own, are coming forward for the preparation of the festival.

Embracing a desire for peace as well as goodwill, and also determined to contribute large sums of funds toward preparations for the festival, the Soviet Kiev Industrial College is achieving results through its vigorous fund-raising campaign.

Moreover, many countries of the world are forming committees for preparation for the festival designed to assure the success of the Pyongyang festival, and also conducting positive activities.

Last February, Nepal formed its committee for preparation for the festival. Saying that Pyongyang's first festival is the most important one to be held in Asia, the Nepal committee is organizing and conducting various activities to make it an internationally grand festival. A number of countries, including Mali, are stepping up their work for preparation for the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students by forming their national preparatory committees.

Sometime ago, the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party discussed the matter of organizing the committee for preparation of the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students and decided to form a powerful national committee for preparation with the first secretary of the Youth League being selected as its head and also with the responsible workers of its government agencies such as organizations becoming Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other social members. All this clearly indicates the great interest this country is showing in the Pyongyang festival. This also clearly shows that both its party and government are not sparing their strength to successfully organize the festival.

In addition, the youth organizations in the progressive nations of the world, including socialistic countries, are proposing a variety of organizational and political activities as well as literary and artistic activities to greet fervently the 13th World Festival of the Youth and Students to be held in Pyongyang. And these organizations are calling upon the youth and students of the world to join them in the activities.

This shows that the Pyongyang festival is the one that mirrors most accurately the intention and will of the progressive youth and students of the world, whose desire is to achieve anti-imperialistic solidarity, peace, and goodwill, and also that the hearts of the progressive youth and students of the world are racing toward Pyongyang.

Our youths, who are receiving such a support from progressive youth and students of the world and other youth and student organizations, are achieving greater results through their activities of preparation for the festival.

Particularly, those builders who have come forward for the target construction of the 13th Festival of the Youth and Students of the World

including the Kwangbok Street construction are creating new miracles and innovations day in day out, while upholding a grand design of the party.

Through the meeting of minds of both the young Korean students and the progressive students of the world, the preparation for the Pyongyang festival will become excellent.

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CSO: 4110/157

OLYMPICS

ROK EDITORIAL CALLS FOR FRUITFUL SPORTS TALKS WITH NORTH

SK140935 Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 14 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Lausanne Conference Must Be Fruitfully Held"]

[Text] Worries over the Seoul Olympics has been completely removed. We have removed the worries at home and abroad by ourselves, and the world has come to unanimously recognize this. The sails of the Olympics were raised for their bon voyage and the prospects for them are bright. Speeding up thorough preparations is the only thing left for us to do.

One of the significant aspects of the 1988 Olympics is to reunite the Olympics, which have been divided by political discord. We expect that all the 167 member countries of the International Olympic Committee [IOC] will participate in the Seoul Olympics.

An obstacle to this, if any, is North Korea's persistent efforts to hinder the Seoul Olympics. North Korea is resorting to virtually all manner of intimidation and tricks to abort the Seoul Olympics.

North Korea is desperately maneuvering to destroy [the Seoul Olympics], while also maneuvering to hold some of the events. Since their unreasonable demand to cohost the Olympics was not accepted, they have continuously made unreasonable demands, while pretending to accept the IOC's arbitration proposal to hold some events in North Korea.

They basically accepted the IOC's arbitration proposal to hold four events in North Korea, a proposal we have approved. However, they have demanded behind the scenes that the number of events be increased. This has confused us.

The North-South sports talks will be held in Lausanne for 2 days, beginning today, to resolve this issue. This will be practically the final meeting to decide on the IOC's arbitration proposal.

The IOC's arbitration proposal to hold four of the events in North Korea is the sincerest proposal that it has advanced, even violating its charter. We accepted this proposal out of generosity to make the Seoul Olympics one for the peoples of the world in name and in substance.

The current North-South sports talks must be held within this framework. We have no time to accept anymore demands or tolerate anymore faultfinding. This is because even if the proposal to hold some events in North Korea is resolved favorably, complicated preparations for it will lie ahead. It would be good for North Korea to quickly decide on the international trend, which has developed to its disadvantage. We hope that they will quickly realize that if it intends to execute its maneuvers to hinder the Olympics at all costs, while delaying for time, it will be reduced to an eternal "international lone wolf."

We also hope that North Korea will remember that its wanton thought that it can hinder the Seoul Olympics if it tries to has been completely destroyed. The games will definitely be held in Seoul and their success is guaranteed. They must clearly realize that if they make more foolish demands, they will become nothing but the target of derision and abhorrence.

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CSO: 4107/219

## CHON TU-HWAN RESIGNS FROM DJP PRESIDENCY

Anticipates 'Suprapartisan' Position

BK100323 Hong Kong AFP in English 0204 GMT 10 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 10 (AFP)--South Korean President Chon Tu-hwan Friday announced his resignation from the presidency of his ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP).

By resigning from the ruling party presidency, Mr. Chon declared he would exclusively carry out his duties as the president of the republic from "a suprapartisan" position until he leaves office on February 24 next year.

"I have come to the conclusion that to speed up the development of the DJP as well as the general political renewal in this country, it is not appropriate for me to remain president of the DJP any longer, although I have yet to serve out my prescribed term of office," Mr. Chon said in a nationwide radio address at noon.

"I am resigning the presidency of the DJP. This decision today is in keeping with the intention of fairly and justly conducting the affairs of state, while stringently and impartially administering the political agenda for a peaceful change of administrations," he said.

By lauding his hand-picked successor No Tae-u, President Chon called upon his colleagues to rally around a new party leadership "with great pride and self-confidence."

He explained he was resigning from the party presidency as "my hands are now more than fully" in preparing the Seoul Olympics, while at the same time ensuring national security and promoting the freedom and welfare of his fellow citizens.

The announcement of his resignation from the party presidency came after the nation's opposition leaders Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam last week demanded it and called on him to form a neutral suprapartisan cabinet in order to impartially carry out free elections he promised.

Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the main opposition Reunification Democratic Party issued a statement welcoming Mr. Chon's announcement, but asserted that Mr. Chon also renounce his DJP membership as well if he were to fairly administer the affairs of the state.

TIMES Editorial

SK110103 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 11 Jul 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Shift in DJP Presidency"]

[Text] In rapid sequence of conspicuous political changes since last week, President Chon Tu-hwan resigned yesterday the presidency of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, which he has concurrently held since the party was formed in 1981 as the political wing of the incumbent government.

His renunciation of the party title, though he is to remain as honorary president, is meaningful in that the Chief Executive is now in a "suprapartisan position," as he enunciated in a statement, in conducting state affairs and, more importantly, in administering the political agenda in a fair and just manner.

It is precarious to speculate whether the resignation had anything to do with a recent opposition call for the formation of a "pan-nation" or caretaker cabinet to take charge of managing the upcoming political tasks, including a constitutional amendment and subsequent presidential election, pending the inauguration of a new government next February.

But, there is no denying that his departure from the ruling party's leadership will help boost the impartiality and credibility of his administration during the transitional period--all the more so in light of the apprehensions by oppositionists about the government camp's "ultimate intent," even after its manifestation of an extensive democratic reform package.

Also noteworthy is the fact that No Tae-u, by taking over the party presidency, though subject to the formality due in about ten days, has become a "real power" of the government camp in dealing with the opposition, which has thus far regarded him more or less as a "surrogate."

The shift in the DJP leadership came a month after No was chosen as the party's presidential candidate and, more significantly, a little more than a week after President Chon endorsed his sweeping democratization scheme, which effected a stunning turnaround in the nation's explosive political situation.

Although the change in the party hierarchy has been subject to persistent speculations during the past week, it also followed a massive amnesty granted to more than 2,300 dissidents on Thursday, which coincidentally witnessed an unprecedentedly huge turnout of people, estimated up to over a million, in major cities to observe the funeral of a university student who had been victimized by a police-fired teargas grenade.

For President Chon, the decision to quit the party leadership must have been a grave one to make. In fact, he is the first incumbent president in the Republic's 39-year history to resign the presidency of his ruling party while he is still serving his tenure as chief executive.

Even if he relinquished the party title so as to devote himself to the chief executive's duties ranging from the ensuring of national security to the promotion of a welfare state, it is undeniable that the President is still responsible for--and, in fact, the man at the helm of--carrying out the task of the nation's democratic development.

What should be stressed at this juncture is that political actors in both the ruling and opposition camps should translate the President's bold and resolute action into a truly productive political process.

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CSO: 4100/278

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

NO TAE-U TO BE ELECTED DJP PRESIDENT ON 25 JULY

SK170920 Seoul YONHAP in English 0912 GMT 17 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, 17 July (YONHAP)--Korea's Democratic Justice Party will elect its chairman No Tae-u as party president, while installing President Chon Tu-hwan as honorary president of the Ruling Party later next week, a party source said Friday.

Chon resigned as party president a week ago to help the Government Party successfully carry out the great tasks facing itself through new leadership. Since Chon's resignation, No, also the party's presidential candidate, has served as the top party leader on an acting basis.

The source said that No will be made the party president on 25 July in a Steering Committee meeting of the party's Central Committee, where the party plans to amend its charter to allow the creation of the posts of honorary president and a few vice presidents.

The Steering Committee is authorized by the party constitution to elect the party president when it is deemed difficult to hold a national convention.

The meeting will also adopt a resolution expressing support for No's democratic proposals last month, including constitutional revision providing for direct presidential elections.

No's formula for democratic reforms which was presented to the people following a two-week long wave of violent anti-government demonstrations that raged across the nation was fully accepted by Chun on 1 July.

The source said No will appoint a few vice presidents and his chief secretary following his election as party president.

To that end, the DJP scheduled a Central Executive Council meeting Monday to deliberate and finalize an amendment draft of the party charter.

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CSO: 4100/0291

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

FORMER INTELLIGENCE CHIEF SEEKS PRESIDENCY

OW110427 Tokyo KYODO in English 0414 GMT 11 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 11 KYODO--Former prime minister Kim Chong-pil hinted Saturday he will join the presidential race expected to be held later this year.

Kim's potential candidacy came as Kim Tae-chung, in a move signalling an opposition bid to field a single presidential candidate, agreed to join the main opposition Reunification Democratic Party.

Sources said Kim Chong-pil indicated this in a speech he made to a farmers group at Sosan, saying he is ready to seek the people's verdict once again if there is a presidential election by direct vote.

Kim Chong-pil, former chief of the now disbanded South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, was prime minister 1971-75 under the late president Pak Chong-hui.

He was forced to sit out the 1980 presidential election as a result of a government political crackdown.

Kim Tae-chung gave his consent "in principle" to join the RDP in a meeting with Kim Yong-sam, the RDP chairman, YONHAP News Agency said.

Kim, who returned to the political limelight following Thursday's government amnesty, will be made a standing adviser to the RDP, Kim Yong-sam said.

The timing and other formalities regarding Kim's RDP membership will be decided after he comes back from a domestic tour, YONHAP said.

The move marked another step in the opposition's bid to field a single candidate in the presidential contest.

The two Kims are allies in the current opposition campaign to force democratic reforms out of the government of President Chon Tu-hwan, but they have yet to work out an opposition strategy for the presidential election.

Meeting in a downtown restaurant, the two opposition leaders also renewed their demand that Chon give up his membership in the ruling Democratic Justice Party to ensure impartiality in the democratization process, YONHAP said.

The call came a day after Chon declared he was stepping down as DJP president but would remain in the party as honorary president.

The two Kims also agreed to urge the government to release all political prisoners, except for those who are communists, and restore their civil rights, YONHAP said.

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CSO: 4100/278

## PARTIES UNDERTAKE TO REVAMP HIERARCHIES

SK120045 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 Jul 87 p 2

[Text] Ruling and opposition parties are gearing up to revamp their hierarchy in conformity with the change in the situation following Kim Tae-chung's come-back to the forefront of the political arena and President Chon Tu-hwan's turnover of the DJP presidency to No Tae-u.

The Democratic Justice Party will conduct a sweeping reshuffle of party posts shortly, to be preceded by cabinet shakeup, while the Reunification Democratic Party is likely to reshape the top leadership installing Kim Tae-chung as permanent advisor.

The rival parties are expected to have contacts at various levels including a formal talk between RDP President Kim Yong-sam and DJP acting president No Tae-u designed to speed up the tackling of the political conflicts ahead.

They will begin negotiations on a new constitution later this week to produce a unified formula to be passed during the regular session of the National Assembly, slated to open on September 20.

The government party will see a new lineup with fresh faces, smacking of a civilian look early this week, the first reshuffle at the full discretion of the acting president.

Holding a full-dress meeting of the DJP constitutional revision committee tomorrow and a public hearing on its revision formula Wednesday, it will enter into debate with opposition parties immediately.

DJP spokesman Kim Chong-nam said, "Our consistent position is that the basic skeleton on constitutional reform should be agreed on in a meeting between our acting president and RDP president Kim Yong-sam.

"And then the working-level committees of the two parties will decide on details and wording," he said.

A DJP source said that a No-Kim talk, the first to occur as a formal affair, is highly possible, perhaps taking the form of a get-acquainted meeting proposed by the new ruling party leadership.

The DJP has often repeated calls for such a meeting only to be spurned by the RDP side who have shunned No, calling him a "non-power-holder."

No was the number-two man in the ruling party, next to President Chon until the latter's turnover of the party presidency Friday.

The government party is positively considering installing three to five senior lawmakers as vice presidents to No who is due to be formally named president in the Central Committee steering panel next week.

Also under study is a plan to pick the floor leader and chairman of Assembly standing committees in the party caucus instead of by the present appointment system, as a way to institute a "democratic reform of the party structure."

The spokesman said, "The plans have yet to be studied further as there are both merits and demerits in the proposed systems."

The largest opposition RDP has virtually finalized the basic framework for its constitutional draft and is ready to seek contact with DJP negotiators.

A RDP constitutional amendment panel member said, "We do not expect significant disparity except for such issues as how to set the suffrage age and whether there should be a vice president of state."

Both parties are in favor of a system run by a directly elected president whose powers, however, will be less than now.

A more knotty problem facing the RDP is the relationship of the two Kims and the nomination of the RDP presidential candidate.

The two key hopefuls of the opposition forces strongly suggest they will run for the helm of the government despite their reiterated pledges to cooperate with each other and shun a vote showdown for the candidacy.

They reached an accord that Kim Tae-chung would join in the party as permanent advisor later this month.

Before Kim Tae-chung's entry to the RDP, prominent dissidents and politicians will be recruited to the party to reinforce its capability to take over government.

Kim Yong-sam said yesterday, "The door is open wide for anyone to join. The figures we attract will be given their due positions."

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CSO: 4100/278

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

OPPOSITION RACE FOR PRESIDENCY

YONHAP Analyzes Opposition's Race

SK180614 Seoul YONHAP in English 0514 GMT 18 Jul 87

[YONHAP "Analysis"]

[Text] Seoul, 18 July (YONHAP)--The competition between Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung, twin towers of Korea's opposition camp, moved to center stage Friday as a group of Kim Tae-chung's supporters decided during a meeting to promote Kim as the standard-bearer of the opposition camp in the presidential election expected later this year by making Kim's earlier declaration not to seek the presidency "null and void."

The move by Kim's backers gave rise to public concern that the nation would witness a repetition of the confused fight for the presidency in 1980.

It was during what some called "a brief spring in Seoul" which followed the assassination of the late President Pak Chong-hui by one of his close aides in the fall of 1979, that the two Kims, together with Kim Chong-pil from Pak's Democratic Republican Party, locked in a fierce contest to win the presidency, leading to a military takeover.

In fact, Kim Chong-pil breaking away from a seven year political hibernation, has again emerged from the political horizon by organizing sporadic rallies in provincial areas near his hometown.

At present, what people worry about is that the nation could enter "a politically unpredictable state" if the largest opposition reunification Democratic Party fails to present a single presidential candidate and the ruling and opposition camps fail to make tangible progress in their negotiations over constitutional revision before colleges and universities across the country open their second semester in September.

Supporters of Kim Tae-chung Friday announced that Kim's earlier decision not to run in the next presidential election has become "null and void." They contended that Kim made the decision last November as a result of his sincere desire to achieve direct, popular presidential elections in Korea.

The reversal of the 13 April presidential declaration banning constitutional debate until after the 1988 Seoul Olympics practically scrapped all political plans and therefore, Kim's announcement not to seek the presidency was nullified too, they said.

The basic strategy to win the nation's top elective office, harbored by the Kim Tae-chung faction, can be briefly summarized in the following outline.

Now that the major stumbling block in Kim's way toward a presidential candidacy has been removed by nullifying his decision not to enter the presidential race, the faction will try to create "a Kim Tae-chung boom" inside the opposition camp, as well as among the general public.

Kim's provincial supporters' frequent rallies in Seoul and his scheduled visit to provincial cities, including Kwangju, Kim's hometown, should be construed as part of this strategy, many political observers agreed.

Kim, who had been under a suspended 20-year sentence on a sedition charge, has been granted amnesty and had his civil rights restored, enabling him to resume political activities.

Under the circumstances, it is natural for him to try to enter the opposition party after the projected Kim Tae-chung boom fully matured in order not to stand in an unfavorable position in his contest with party President Kim Yong-sam to determine a single presidential candidate, the observers said.

On the other hand, followers of Kim Yong-sam fiercely reacted to Friday's decision by the Kim Tae-chung faction, saying that politics should be conducted on the basis of faith.

Finding no immediate measures to use against Friday's decision, they maintain that the issue concerning a single candidate should be resolved through intra-party negotiations and in a quiet manner, urging Kim Tae-chung to enter the party as soon as possible.

The Kim Yong-sam faction has already launched a campaign to further consolidate its factional strength. It will try to play a leading role in bipartisan negotiations over constitutional revision by making the best use of Kim Yong-sam's representative position. It will also give wider publicity to Kim's "comparatively moderate line" as a basis upon which Kim can absorb many democratization demands from many walks of life.

As for Kim Chong-pil, political observers agreed that he could be hardly expected to win the presidential race because of his long politically dormant period, weak political background and liability inherited from the fallen dictatorial regime of the late Pak Chong-hui.

Kims' Rivalry Seen Threatening Split

SK180114 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 18 Jul 87 pp 2, 3

[From the "News Analysis" column]

[Text] Rivalry between two leading opposition figures--Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung, has entered a new phase as the latter followers yesterday declared null and void Kim Tae-chung's earlier decision not to run for the presidency.

About 30 of the 70 Reunification Democratic Party lawmakers said they will ask that Kim Tae-chung become the standard-bearer of the opposition camp in the presidential election expected later this year.

The move by Kim Tae-chung's supporters brought an instant reaction from close associates of Kim Yong-sam, president of the main opposition RDP.

"Politics should be based on trust," said party spokesman Rep. Kim Tae-yong, apparently expressing hope that Kim Tae-chung will abide by his decision to renounce political ambitions.

In a statement on 5 November last year, Kim Tae-chung said he would renounce presidential ambitions if the government accepted direct presidential elections.

"I hope that my decision will serve as an opportunity to realize national reconciliation and unity on the basis of democracy," said Kim, a former presidential candidate.

Explaining yesterday's declaration to nullify Kim's decision, his followers said in unison that it had been already nullified automatically as a result of the 13 April presidential decision to suspend constitutional debate.

The direct presidential election formula has been achieved owing to the people's struggles following the opposition rallies of 10 June, not to any spontaneous efforts by the ruling camp," they added.

The two Kims, who have maintained a cooperative relationship so far in their struggle for democracy, are apparently walking a tightrope, balancing their fractious alliance after their initial goal of direct presidential elections has been achieved. Earlier this month, the government announced a sweeping democratic reform proposal, including election of the president by a direct, popular vote.

Both Kims have declined to spell out their intentions clearly on whether they will run for presidential office.

They have only said that they will never go against the people's aspirations for a single opposition presidential candidate pitted against the Ruling Democratic Justice Party's standard-bearer, No Tae-u.

Prospects for a single RDP candidate are not bright, in view of the efforts by both Kims to create a favorable political climate for themselves.

Kim Yong-sam has been contacting leading dissident figures to listen to their opinions and as for their cooperation while being faithful to his party duties by studying the RDP's draft Constitution.

Kim has insisted that the opposition should field a single presidential candidate neither by voting nor by a third power's mediation between the two Kims, but by the two Kims' negotiations.

He is asking Kim Tae-chung to join the party as soon as possible for the negotiations with him, saying that "I think Kim Tae-chung will join the party before long. After his joining, will consult with him about all party affairs, including selecting a single presidential candidate without fail."

However, Kim Tae-chung who was granted amnesty and had his civil rights restored on 9 July is delaying joining the party, planning to make the most of his scheduled visit to Kwangju, Mokpo and some other provincial cities around 25 July to touch off a "Kim Tae-chung boom" there.

By doing so, he will try to gain an advantage over Kim Yong-sam in the competition for the presidential candidacy, according to analysts.

With the two Kims vying to be the next president, the RDP members and dissident figures outside the party are engaged in lively discussions on ways to field a single presidential candidate.

They are also discussing which of the two Kims is in a better position for the upcoming presidential election. But it is not easy for the main opposition party members to select one of them as a presidential candidate since support for the two Kims is evenly divided in the party.

In contrast, dissidents outside the party are known to be continuing to discuss the problem of selecting a single presidential candidate.

A source said, "It is a must for the opposition to select a single candidate, and I think the dissidents outside the opposition party will play a leading role in the problem." He said, "It is most possible that powerful dissident groups outside the RDP and some party members will select one of the two Kims and support him as a single opposition presidential candidate.

#### Rivalry for Presidential Race Heats Up

OW171323 Tokyo KYODO in English 1308 GMT 17 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, 17 July KYODO--A preliminary battle for a presidential election in South Korea late this year has quickened in tempo with Friday's virtual retraction of opposition leader Kim Tae-chung's earlier pledge not to run in the election.

The retraction invited a quick voice of criticism from supporters of Kim's major rival in the opposition camp, Kim Yong-sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party.

A recent hint by former Prime Minister Kim Chong-pil that he may run in the presidential race is also apparently annoying the ruling camp because his entry could split the conservative vote, harming ruling camp candidate No Tae-u.

A group loyal to dissident leader Kim Tae-chung met Friday and declared that Kim's announcement made last November that he would not run in a presidential election is no longer valid.

The group included about 30 national assembly members of the No 1 Opposition RDP, who are loyal to Kim Tae-chung, the 1971 opposition presidential candidate against the late President Pak Chong-hui.

When questioned by reporters after the group's meeting, Kim Tae-chung declined to comment, but analysts in general took the decision as being approved by Kim because he was also present at the meeting.

Yu Jun-sang, the spokesman for the Kim supporters' group, said Kim made the November declaration in the midst of extreme political chaos in his effort to help save the country from crisis and bring about constitutional revision for a direct presidential election system.

Yu asserted that Kim's declaration was nullified on 13 April when President Chon Tu-hwan announced he would postpone the debate on constitutional amendments until after the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

Supporters of Kim Yong-sam reacted fiercely against the retraction decision, with their spokesman Kim Tae-yong indignantly saying that politics should be based on truth.

So far, the two Kims repeatedly said they would be able to agree on a unified opposition candidate for the presidential election through discussions, not by voting in confrontation.

Kim Tae-chung is expected to make public his position on the problem of the unified opposition candidate after his planned visit to his home city of Kwangju around 25 July.

Signs of rivalry, however, are escalating between the two camps, signalling the difficulty for the opposition to choose a unified candidate against the ruling candidate No, according to informed sources.

Meanwhile, Kim Chong-pil, premier in the days of the late President Pak, has also recently hinted to his supporters at his possible running in the presidential election.

Some observers predict that Kim may declare his candidacy 27 July in a meeting of a group of his supporters, mainly made up of members of the defunct

Republican Party. If Kim Chong-pil should enter in the presidential race, he could deal a blow to No by splitting the conservative vote. But political sources said there is almost no chance for Kim Chong-pil to win because of his past image in the Pak Government years, adding that they wonder at the real purpose of Kim Chong-pil in his possible candidacy.

#### Editorial Comment on 2 Kims' Rivalry

SK120022 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 Jul 87 p 2

[By Political Editor Kim Myong-sik, from the "News in Review" column]

[Text] The presidential candidacy for the opposition has emerged as the most pressing and thrilling question in the new political setting highlighted by the direct popular election of the president.

The problem of the "two Kims" carries all the necessary twists and turns of a political drama. That the question should be settled in a few months because of the tight political schedule makes the domestic as well as international watchers all the more enthralled with the affair.

As soon as he regained the eligibility for presidential candidacy with his amnesty and restoration of civil rights on Thursday, Kim Tae-chung (KTC) scrapped his earlier announcement of "no contest for the presidency."

His logic, though not quite convincing, was clear. His decision of no candidacy announced last November was based on the condition that President Chon Tu-hwan would "voluntarily accept" the direct presidential election system, "chiksonje."

Chon did accept "chiksonje," but he did so under the pressure of the people's power. Because the decision was not made as a gift to the people, there is no reason for him to reciprocate with another gift of "no candidacy," Kim Tae-chung explained.

Such an explanation was not necessary, however, because there were few who were surprised at the renunciation of the earlier position. When he later revealed that he would "follow the will of the people," it was a statement long expected by many.

As for rival Kim Yong-sam (KYS), his intentions to run for the presidency were indicated obliquely. "I never said that I was not going to run," Kim told an interviewer who recalled his repeated remarks of a "mind void of ambition."

Kim Yong-sam will hold a press conference tomorrow and Kim Tae-chung on Tuesday but neither of them is expected to come up with any decisive solutions on the problem of candidacy so soon.

"KTC" with no black cars chasing him any more, will make some cross country tours, covering Kwangju, Mokpo, Pusan and Taegu, during the coming weeks in order to meet his supporters and assess the "people's desire" concerning his candidacy.

Though he in fact has to make much haste to recover the time lost in his long political confinement, he is taking a rather lax stance concerning the selection of a single opposition candidate.

"An early settlement of the candidacy problem would make things less exciting," he recently told the press, expressing hope that the question is tackled in earnest after the ruling and opposition parties have completed the negotiations for the drafting of a constitutional amendment bill.

Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam have produced "four principles": no dual candidacy by the two Kims, no vote showdown within the party, cooperation before and after democratization and no repetition of the mistake of 1980.

But it is Kim Yong-sam who stresses these principles more strongly these days and Kim Tae-chung sounds more and more inclined to open competition in case a compromise is not reached.

KYS has of course maintained a higher profile as the head of the Reunification Democratic Party though the party is in almost a complete balance between the two major factions.

But with the impending entry of KTC into the party as a "permanent advisor" along with some dissident figures, this delicate balance may be tilted in favor of Kim Tae-chung, thus building up confidence on the part of the "Tonggyo-dong faction."

As yet, few see the possibility of any one of the two opposition giants to raise the hand of the other and be content with becoming vice president or just party preseident in a "grand compromise."

There are some neutral opinions floating about suggesting the alternating of presidential terms between the two, having the older Kim Tae-chung run first and the younger Kim Yong-sam the next time.

No impartial advice has yet to bring forth a persuasive solution to this long time rivalry, however. Each has too strong reasons against giving up the candidacy, having aimed so long, so hard at gaining power.

Each believes that it is the last chance for them to clinch power. Kim Yong-sam's side alleges that Kim Tae-chung had his chance in 1971 but lost it, and therefore it is now the other Kim's turn.

On the other hand, Kim Tae-chung's supporters claim that their boss was more severely persecuted under the Pak Chong-chui and present governments and so he deserves greater compensation.

As to geographical differences, the Sangdo-dong group says that Kim Yong-sam is a better candidate because he can effectively garner votes from the Kyongsang provinces, considered a ruling party stronghold.

The Tonggyo-dong men say that the next president should come from the other region to ensure a truly balanced development of the country and to make even all the disadvantages the south-western areas have had to brunt over the past decades.

Sangdo-dong then warns of the possible repercussions from the military in the case of Kim Tae-chung's election on the grounds of the long-hardened abhorrence among senior officers against him.

They also argue that Kim Tae-chung as a president will attract more political reprisals and will be unable to put an end to the vicious political circle.

Tonggyo-dong asserts that Kim Tae-chung's radical and even pro-leftist image is a fabrication by the previous governments. Only he can effectively control the diverse anti-government elements which can remain a formidable threat to any others in power.

While arguments pick up increasing friction, warnings as coming from religious and dissident circles of a public obsession on the issue of the contest between the two Kims rather than the task of democratization itself.

But the contenders seem to believe that the competition, as long as it takes on a fair shape, may help boost an opposition boom and ensure a final victory to whoever gets the presidential ticket. Observers of the uncertain game say that they can be wrong, however.

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## POST 13 APRIL POLITICAL ARENA VIEWED

## Ruling Party's Mission

Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 14 Apr 87 p 3

[Text] President Chon's special announcement on 13 April fundamentally changed the political goals and tasks that the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) has been pursuing so far.

It is because among the major goals of establishing a parliamentary-cabinet system, changing the leadership and regaining power, the burden of constitutional revision has temporarily been lifted. The issue of changing the leadership has become clearer, and the method of regaining power has become more precise.

In view of the fact that the change is a unilateral decision for convenience rather than a mutually agreed decision between the ruling party and the people or the opposition party, the simplification of the goals does not necessarily imply an alleviation of the burden. On the contrary, the tasks and challenges of the DJP still remain arduous, and it is as difficult as ever to predict how the situation will develop.

The "protection versus revision of the current constitution" and the "parliamentary-cabinet versus the direct presidential election system," which have been the major issues of confrontation so far, have reverted to the "suspension of the constitutional revision versus request for withdrawal of the suspension"; but the degree and the aspect of the confrontation are likely to be even more severe than before.

The DJP must regain power while suppressing the opposition party's accusation of breaking a promise, and calming down the people's reaction and suspicion of the ruling party's frequent change of direction on the issue of the constitutional revision.

The DJP is planning its basic political strategy on the assumption that the suspension of the constitutional revision is more widely accepted by the people than their initial reaction to the opposition party's request for constitutional revision indicates. The DJP assumes that many people will understand the ruling party's decision that there is no choice but to postpone

the constitutional revision due to the opposition party's internal struggle and party division, and the two Kims' noncompromising insistence on direct presidential elections.

Therefore, the DJP's political strategy after the special announcement is to change their attitude to persuade and plead directly to the people rather than confront or solve every issue by negotiation with the opposition party.

For instance, they clearly showed in threats against the two Kims that they are not trustworthy counterparts for a dialogue. In response to the challenge by the unofficial opponents or other opposition movement groups, they are going to firmly suppress them through the use of official power.

In the meantime, they are taking their campaign to the people through democratization measures such as the local government system to prove that the DJP's determination for democratization is not a mask as the opposition party claims and they seem to be trying to win the presidential election eventually under the current constitution.

The DJP is reestablishing their logic on the constitutional revision based on these strategies. In short, they insist that it is their unchangeable party platform to promote constitutional revision for a parliamentary-cabinet system after the summer Olympics.

Even then, they say that the constitutional revision will be possible only if the opposition party will agree on the parliamentary-cabinet system. If the current extreme confrontation between the parliamentary-cabinet and the direct election systems continues, there may be no choice but to rely on the current constitution.

Consequently, whether or not the next power will be a transitional one is analyzed with the same logic. They deny the power transition concept on the grounds that the next president will be supported by the DJP and his tenure is guaranteed by the constitution.

Furthermore, since President Chon is reiterating that he will become a private citizen after his tenure, contrary to a former rumor, and that the next president will be a candidate for prime minister if the constitutional revision is made, the ruling party argues that there cannot be a weak "transition."

They also claim that they will continue to promote the constitutional revision with consensus for the parliamentary-cabinet system during the tenure of the next president.

They have stated that they cannot decide, at this time, exactly when the constitutional revision will be official, because they do not know when both parties will agree on the type of government. Thus, the tenure of the next executive is directly related to when an agreement can be reached on constitutional revision.

Since the current measure is not a support of the current constitution but a proposal to suspend the revision talks, the determination for the parliamentary-cabinet system has not been changed. Therefore, the DJP's next presidential candidate has an obligation to promise as an election campaign issue to achieve the parliamentary-cabinet system during his tenure after the summer Olympics.

Furthermore, many people in the DJP predict that the constitutional revision for the parliamentary-system will be possible around 1989, and it makes sense that the next president may not be able to serve another 7 years under the current constitution because of the people's expectations, and our rapid national development.

Because of the decision to have a presidential election in 1987 and elect a candidate early, the selection of a presidential candidate became the DJP's most urgent task.

Although President Chon did not mention a specific person in his statement by saying, "a candidate will be selected from the people at the earliest possible date, one who can receive wide popular support, there is no question at this time that the DJP Chairman No Tae-u is considered to be the best possible candidate.

It is a widely held opinion that there will not be any disturbance in order to get popular support and that there is not enough time for a new figure to emerge "at the earliest possible date." Mr No has been renominated as DJP chairman and was given total authority as to the constitutional revision by President Chon. He is in the most advantageous position in terms of hierarchical order and the nature of the ruling circle. Since they have already attributed the sole responsibility for the suspension of the constitutional revision talks to the two Kims and the opposition party, they cannot blame No even if his political capabilities are not quite satisfactory.

In this regard, we can predict that official selection of party Chairman No as a successor to President Chon will start much earlier than expected. It is known that the DJP is planning to have the party convention to select the presidential candidate at the end of May or early June and to enhance No's image by sending him to the United States during June.

It seems that the DJP and No will do their best to create an atmosphere of honor in President Chon's step-down, while paying special attention to the conflicting concept of an emerging new leader and a weakening of the presidential ruling power.

In this regard, the forthcoming restructuring of the party policy attracts more attention. Since the nominating power of the candidate for the 13th general election is effectively given to the next president due to the suspension of the constitutional revision, the forthcoming restructuring of the party policy will reflect President Chon's political philosophy and personnel policy, and also possibly the outline of the next power structure.

Mr No's political path is not necessarily wide open just because he is nominated as a successor and internal party problems are smoothly solved . He has to demonstrate his political competence by facing difficult realities himself, unlike when he was protected under the wing of President Chon.

It is obvious that the opposition party in cooperation with the unofficial opposition circle will challenge the ruling party by requesting the withdrawal of the suspension and by means of various forms of struggle and ultimately by boycotting the elections of the electoral college as well as the president.

Among the problems created by excluding the two Kims, are procedures to control opposition party members by judicial means and suppress the activities of the opposition movement circles, and whether or not the democratization measures such as the local self-government system can persuade the people. None of these are easy tasks.

Should these obstacles not be overcome as intended and should the president exercise an emergency measure, the DJP and Chairman No will face another political crisis, and the political future will remain totally uncertain.

#### 'Cold' Political Air

Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 15 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Kim Yong-pae]

[Text] A cold front is spreading over the political situation. After the 13 April special measure, the government and the ruling party are reconfirming their determination to carry out the political schedule according to the current constitution. The opposition party, who has been observing the ruling circle's strong policy change while holding their breadth is anxiously watching the follow-up measures.

The commencement convention of the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP, a tentative name) which was originally planned on a grand scale has been changed into a quiet indoor meeting. Although Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the new party's preparation committee, pointed out in his press conference on 14 April the injustice in suspending the constitutional revision, he tended to be low-keyed, and emphasized discussions with the responsible person. Detailed countermeasures have been postponed until after the commencement convention.

They intended to avoid a cold front in their face and to buy some time until the scope of the current situation becomes clearer and the new party is formally established.

As long as the ruling party cut off all the paths to the constitutional revision, however, there seems to be only two options left for the opposition party; one, to follow the ruling party's political plan; and the other, to go out to the streets again calling for the constitutional revision. The latter option will invite a physical confrontation and will involve a possible collapse. In other words, it is like two trains entering a collision path, running on the same track.

Although neither side explicitly describes the current situation as above, both sides seem to expect that such a situation is inevitably approaching. It is because the ruling party's political schedule totally excludes the opposition party's insistence on the constitutional revision; and the opposition party, who has been insisting on the constitutional revision, can not seem to change its direction.

The ruling party's plan is to carry out the presidential election within this year under the current constitution. It seems the local self-government system will be implemented around this time. Thus, the DJP is busy in preparation for the selection of the presidential candidate and for the full-fledged election of the electoral college.

The RDP, however, does not yet intend to disclose their countermeasures, because their judgement of the situation could possibly lead to a political catastrophe.

The opposition party has been insisting that they will deny the election under the current constitution. They have been questioning the justification for the current constitution and have been criticizing the election system by the electoral college, which guarantees the victory of the ruling party. Such a basic policy will not change drastically. Although they promote a revolutionary election, they do not seem to expect a "revolutionary effect" from the election by the electoral college.

If they do not intend to participate in the presidential election, they have no choice but to resume the struggle for the constitutional revision.

The problem is when and how they are going to resume the struggle. A simple election boycott is an option. A passive movement not to participate in the ruling party's plans may not necessarily call for a physical confrontation. Then they may have grounds to question the legitimacy of the succeeding authority, which would have been established under the current constitution without the opposition party's participation.

Judging from the previous opposition party's history of struggle so far, however, it is not likely that they will take the passive approach.

Although they lay down on the ground to avoid the strong wind, it is very likely that the opposition party will later on "launch a strong counterattack in cooperation with all the democratic forces," according to their announcement. We can think of their going out to the streets to get the people's signatures or to establish a pan-national struggle organization. The timing will be very sensitive to the movement of the unofficial opposition power and the students or to the development of public opinion.

Until the commencement convention of the new opposition party, however, they are expected to concentrate their efforts only on the establishment task while carefully observing the development of the situation. It is because they think that the task of establishing a new party itself might possibly face difficulties.

If this task is accomplished successfully, they will clearly turn their initial efforts toward the inner National Assembly rather than the outside. Within the National Assembly, where their security is guaranteed, they seem to be trying to find out the ruling party's real intention, while coping with the ruling party's handling of the issue of implementing the local self-government system and related laws.

Meanwhile, the opposition party will seek a new dialogue between the responsible persons under the new leadership of Kim Yong-sam. The opposition side seems to expect that the dialogue will be a Silse Taewha (dialogue between the real powers) which, they hope, will create a turning point.

The ruling party, however, already denies such a possibility. They say it is only a fantasy. They claim that from the moment they separated from the opposition party (New Democratic Party) to set up a new party, both the new party and the two Kims lost the qualification for the counterpart of the dialogue and furthermore, they do not acknowledge the necessity of the debate for the constitutional revision at this time. The opposition party does not have any excuse to reopen the Special Committee for the Constitutional Revision (SCCR) which they themselves terminated.

If they confirm that the importance of the Shilse Taehwa as the only means of solving the political situation involving the constitutional revision has been breached in practice, they have no choice but to seek an excuse for an outside struggle. In other words, they are going to appeal to the people directly.

The ruling party will consider such outside struggle as a "chaotic constitutional revision debate" and will respond with "harsh measures."

The government and the ruling party do not rule out the possibility of exercising emergency measures in the worst possible case. It is known that until that time, they will respond with legal means.

Judicial measures will apply to some National Assemblymen who are known to have problems in their personal lifestyles or in their qualification as assemblymen. Unconfirmed rumors are spreading that about 10 assemblymen belong to such a category.

Furthermore, the judicial measures can be extended to dissolve the National Assembly. It is to be noted that according to the constitution, the Constitution Committee can order a dissolution of a political party who has committed political activities against the basic democratic order.

The opposition circle considers the ultimate goal of the ruling party's harsh measure, which has blocked all exits, to be aimed at the reorganization of the opposition circle. They judge that the last goal is either to reduce the two Kims' political influence or to exclude them from political influence. The ruling circle does not seem to hide the negative feelings toward the two Kims by openly talking about the reimprisonment of Kim Tae-chung or the exclusion of Kim Yong-sam. It seems obvious that the ruling circle considers the two Kims as the biggest obstacle to their political plan.

They seem to know that if the ruling circle forces the intentional reorganization according to their political schedule, it will remain a big political burden in the future.

Furthermore, if the opposition party's resistance grows to such an extent that it causes some change to the ruling party's political schedule, political chaos might possibly arise, and we cannot rule out the possibility of a power collapse in the worst case. The forthcoming political atmosphere will be unpredictable, unclear and rough. We must therefore admit that the current situation might possibly be changing its direction in a totally unpredictable way.

#### Political Calendar

Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 16 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Yi Su-kun]

[Text] Due to the suspension of the constitutional revision on 13 April, the political schedule for the February 1988 transfer of power has become clearer and simpler.

President Chon disclosed his plan in detail in his special announcement: the election of a presidential candidate from the ruling party as early as possible, the presidential election within this year, and the gradual implementation of the local self-government system during his tenure.

His plan has reduced by at least four the political procedures that the government has to go through in transferring power through a constitutional revision for the parliamentary-cabinet system. In the event of a constitutional revision for the parliamentary-cabinet system, the following political events must be handled under a tight schedule during the remaining 10 months: the constitutional revision, the national referendum, the implementation of the election law and other related laws, the nomination of candidates for the National Assembly, the selection of a presidential candidate, general election, new National Assembly, and the election of a new president and a prime minister.

Simply speaking, the new plan placed the DJP in a far more advantageous position than the opposition party. This is because they can avoid the difficult negotiations with the opposition party, which is more than a mere simplification of the complicated political procedures. Considering the current indirect presidential election system, it is almost guaranteed that they will regain the power.

Furthermore, as a consequence of the decision to carry out the power transfer under the current constitution, the selection of a new presidential candidate, which has been a difficult and delicate problem, has been resolved smoothly.

If they had insisted on the constitutional revision for the parliamentary-cabinet system, it is obvious that the successor would not have been identified early and various "rumors" would have mushroomed.

It is the ruling side's agony that they cannot expect a smooth voyage despite such a simplified political plan, since it is expected that the opponents, including the new Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), the unofficial opposition groups, the opposition movement group, and some religious groups, will resist in some form or other.

The general consensus is that the forthcoming political situation will undoubtedly develop into a troubling one, since the opposition group will eventually go out to the streets and deny the ruling side's political plan and the ruling circle will undoubtedly pursue the plan outlined in the 13 April announcement.

The DJP therefore thinks that the political schedule until the power transfer next February will have to be carried out unilaterally by the ruling party's plan.

The DJP is thus trying hard to prepare a new administrative plan to persuade the people, to establish policies opposing the opposition party, and to propose a fresh blueprint for regaining power.

The early selection of a presidential candidate is intended to reassure the suspension of the constitutional revision as a fact and to establish a strong response measure for the opposition through an early realignment of power. Thus they seem in a hurry to carry out everything on the political schedule.

The DJP is planning to reorganize the regional party soon as a prelude to the party convention for electing a presidential candidate. According to the current schedule, they are going to finish the reorganization of the regional party structure and provincial city chapters by the end of May and have the party convention during June. The most significant event of when the presidential candidate will be revealed is not yet clear.

According to the party regulation, a candidate for the presidential candidacy competition can be selected either by signatures of at least one-tenth of the total convention representatives or by the recommendation of the central executive committee. An informed source indicated that they will take the latter approach.

If this is the case, the timing may be either after the reorganization of the regional party or after the reorganization of the provincial city chapter.

Although competition for the candidacy is possible according to the party regulation, it is unlikely. This is because there is not enough time for the competition and the ruling party's atmosphere makes it difficult for an individual party member to declare himself a candidate, and finally, a candidate cannot be created overnight.

Although nobody can say for sure, there is no question that the party Chairman No Tae-u is most likely to be selected as the candidate.

The presidential election might be held between 10 to 20 December 1987 in view of the fact that they can avoid the excited end-of-the-year atmosphere, and an early election would not be normal.

Thus, the election of the electoral college is expected to be held between late November and early December. It is becoming clear that the actual competition will start from early November.

The implementation of the local self-government system has become an inevitable means of placating the people, due to the suspension of the constitutional revision.

Now that the constitutional revision has been suspended, there is no excuse to postpone the implementation of the local self-government system, which was the campaign issue of the 12th general election and which was agreed on between the ruling and the opposition parties. The ruling party seems to judge that satisfying the people's desire to participate through a gradual implementation of the local self-government systems starting from the city, county (kun), and ward (ku), will help them somewhat in administering the government.

As to the timing of the implementation, it is equally divided into two groups, those who insist on before and those who insist on after the presidential election. Those who insist on the implementation between January and February 1988 argue that if it is implemented before the election, it will be difficult to secure approximately 1,000 candidates for the electoral college since most of the candidates for the local self-government will be from the ruling side; and the severely heated competition for self-government could possibly damage the election of electoral college delegates.

The other group insists on implementation during the summer on the grounds that candidates for the local self-government congress will be selected from a younger generation according to the president's policy. The heated atmosphere in the local self-government elections will compensate for the opposition party's uneven struggle. Since the ruling party's landslide victory is expected in the local self-government election due to the internal struggle and ill-prepared nature of the opposition party, they may be able to reduce the effectiveness of the argument concerning the legitimacy of the electoral college election.

In the long run, the timing seems to be determined depending on how they make their political judgement based on political developments.

Common sense indicates, however, that implementation during next January or February will be difficult, since both the president and his successor will be very busy in accomplishing the first peaceful power transfer in the history of Korean politics.

This political scenario is based on the assumption that an endurable political situation could be maintained during the whole process. Should an extreme situation, such as an emergency measure, develop, an unpredictable situation could quite possibly evolve.

## Opposition Measures

Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 20 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Ho Nam-chin]

[Text] The opposition party does not seem to have any countermeasure against a series of strong measures taken by the ruling circle after the 13 April special announcement.

Not yet recovered from the shock, they keep repeating "We must revise the constitution," without putting forth any concrete countermeasures.

They have been attacking the ruling party in full force to achieve the direct presidential election system, but now this target has disappeared. Since the situation has been reversed to some degree, the opposition party seems to be at a loss, not knowing where to defend themselves and what to attack.

Especially since the new opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) is in a situation where they have come up against a harsh winter before finishing the house, they cannot think of any counterattack strategy yet.

The opposition circle considers the current situation as "an emergency measure already in effect," since after the 13 April announcement a series of follow-up measures were declared, such as blocking Kim Tae-chung's house from public access, the indictment of Assemblyman Yi-Chol and the all night long interrogation of Assemblyman Kim Yong-o.

They are tensely watching the situation, wondering what other measures will follow.

One senior opposition member said, "If we associate the procedure of expediency in processing and sentencing Assemblymen Pak Ch'an-jong, Cho Sun-hyong and Yu Song-hwan, and the indictment of Assemblyman Yi Chol to the 13 April measure, we get the impression that everything has been carefully planned." He got angry and said, "If the ruling party's strategy has been set up as if it were an emergency measure, there is nothing that the opposition party can do."

Kim Yong-sam, especially, is in a difficult position. Even if he becomes chairman of the main opposition party, the road to negotiation for the constitutional revision by consensus where his role is greatly reduced, is already closed.

Although he claims, "I don't worry about either dialogue or struggle," neither one is easy.

According to the ruling party's request that they will talk to an official representative only, Kim Yong-sam made himself available. Now, they don't even want to acknowledge him as a counterpart for the talks at all.

From President Chon's remarks made on 15 April at the Blue House, "Maintain a dialogue with moderate opposition members," we can easily guess that the "moderate opposition members" include neither the RDP nor the two Kims.

Even if they do get an opportunity to talk, it becomes very difficult to expect any meaningful results, since the ruling party has firmly stated that they will not revise the constitution.

In view of the fact that the people's disappointment and negative reactions to the 13 April measure are substantial, there is discussion that all the opposition groups will launch a united struggle.

That may not be easy, however, because such an attack might provide the ruling circle with an excuse for further strong measures and might lead to a political disaster.

One of the reasons that they cannot immediately launch a full-scale struggle is that the assemblymen who are expected to lead the initiatives are more cautious this time due to the several strong measures.

In addition, they don't have any new issue which can attract the people's attention. They cannot escape the blame that the internal struggle and the split in the opposition party are also partially responsible for the present situation. Because of such complicated reasons, it is very difficult to create an opposition boom similar to last year's constitutional revision promotion rally.

Meanwhile, Kim Yong-sam is loaded down with such responsibilities as to maintain the "clean and strong" image that the RDP is advocating as a party slogan, while avoiding political collapse, and to propose plans for the constitutional revision for a direct presidential election system.

Associates close to Sangdo-dong (where Kim Yong-sam's residence is) emphasize that "We should continue our dialogue. We don't need to conclude that the ruling party closed the door completely." It gives us an impression that they are trying hard to ascertain the real intention of the ruling party by demonstrating moderate gestures.

In the process of promoting a meeting between the party heads around the time when the special and regular sessions of the National Assembly will be held, the opposition party will undoubtedly try to detect the ruling party's real intention and the intensity of the measures, and try to resume the constitutional revision talks.

The Tonggyo-dong (where Kim Tae-chung resides) faction insists that the opposition party should, first of all, initiate a solidarity movement with other opposition groups.

Some members of the Tonggyo-dong faction said, when the 13 April measure was announced, "It's rather good for us in the sense that there is no choice but to concentrate on one path."

Since it was officially announced by opponents including Cardinal Kim Su-hwan and the Lawyers' Association that they oppose the 13 April measure, it may not

be difficult to expand the coalition among the opposition. They claim that this will be the best chance to change the current political situation.

The Tonggyo-dong faction's idea to establish an official contact organization in the RDP with other opponents coming from similar backgrounds.

The Sangdo-dong faction argues that premature struggles from outside might possibly give the ruling party an excuse to shut down the process and trap the opposition, they should be used just as a means to exert pressure on the ruling party. The Tongkyo-dong faction's attitude, on the other hand, is stronger.

Some members of the Tonggyo-dong faction view the 13 April measure and the indictment of Assemblyman Yi Chol as a political burden on the ruling circle. Therefore, they seem to be confident that they can effectively attack the government with worldwide support if they continue to expand their opposition activities as a pan-national movement.

Although the two factions have different views on the political situation, they share the same opinion that for the time being, they will protect themselves from strong winds by concentrating on establishing the new party and by limiting themselves only to the internal activities.

If there is no hope of changing the current situation, however, the Sangdo-dong faction will lose the persuasive edge to win over the tough attitude of the Tonggyo-dong faction and an unpredictable situation is very likely to develop.

Some opposition party members insist that, "If we cannot change the ruling circle's structure no matter whether we boycott the election under the current constitution, let us face the situation in a more relaxed manner, while aiming at the constitutional revision in 1989."

The remaining New Democratic Party members who did not join the new RDP, and those who do not belong to any political party seem to be sensitive to the ruling party's remarks such as "fresh political circulation," "scouting new power," and a "dialogue with the moderate opposition parties."

Since there is nothing they can do at this time, they might be anticipating possible roles following a reorganization of the political structure. They seem to be seeking cooperation with the People's Democratic Party (PDP), who lost their role and are in a state of disarray due to the suspension of the constitutional revision.

Although both parties [NDP and PDP] will initially engage in psychological warfare, each trying to secure a share of power, it is expected that they will eventually be able to set up a negotiation group with the National Assembly without much difficulty by the time a special session of the National Assembly is called for.

The minor Korea National Party has not clearly declared their position as to whether they will participate in the presidential election under the current

constitution. It is very likely that they will take advantage of the partnership while requesting a change in the presidential election law.

After the opposition circle's political order is realigned, including the establishment of the RDP as a negotiating group in the National Assembly joined with the minor parties, the political direction will face a turning point.

#### Democratization Discussed

Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 21 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Pak Po-kyun]

[Text] Democratization is being carried out on the surface to meet the national demand for progress toward democracy and to show off the determination of the government and the ruling party to pursue it. The real purpose, however, is known to fill the political vacuum created by the suspension of the constitutional revision talks of 13 April.

This ploy is focussed on soothing the people's emptiness and the shock due to the measure to suspend the constitution and to substitute democratization for the lost expectations and to play a substitute role for the constitutional revision.

One of the ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) staff members said, "Due to the 13 April measure, the traditional relationship between the ruling and the opposition parties, which has been maintained since the general election on 12 February 1985, cannot be revived at least for the time being," and that he expects the democratization measures will fill the gap created by the 13 April measure and cure the people's disappointment over this political development.

It seems that the DJP is expecting to be able to manage the political schedule smoothly until the power transfer in February 1988, if they are able to divert effectively the people's interest in democratization, and manage to weaken the opposition party's reaction.

After the 13 April measure, however, the ruling party's attitude concerning the detailed contents and the timing of democratization became noticeably passive unlike when they were negotiating with the opposition party before the 13 April measure. It is presumably because they are free from the burden of the election due to the suspension of the constitutional revision.

As for implementing the local self-government system, which the government and the ruling party consider the most important democratization measure, they are now talking about the selected gradual implementation and abandonment of the party recommendation system, even if they have already submitted the related laws to the National Assembly for approval after numerous discussions between the government and the ruling party and nationwide public hearings. It makes the people doubt whether it can be implemented during President Chon's tenure.

The same holds for the freedom of the press. At one time, some DJP members even mentioned abolishing the Basic Press Law. Then "abolishing" has been changed to "revision." Currently, they just plan to establish a committee to discuss the revision and to relax some of the abusive articles.

Since the problems associated with the local self-government system and the Basic Press Law are not new, and the ruling circle's promise to improve these problems is not new either, it is disappointing that they will just study, analyze, and discuss the problems at this time.

As for the scope of implementation which has become the focal point of discussion recently between the party and the government, the DJP agrees that a full-fledged implementation is inevitable, as a compensation for the suspension of the constitutional revision. Some members of the government still have not abandoned the idea of a partial or gradual implementation in some of the provinces and provincial cities.

Those who propose the partial implementation argue on the grounds that in case they have to elect 3,400 local self-government officials for the 236 total basic units including provincial cities (shi), counties (kun) and wards (ku) of the major cities, they will not have enough preparation time to satisfy the provision of the demand for related administrative work reestablishing the local administrative structures and the result might be negative reactions and administrative chaos. Therefore, they insist on either a selective implementation in some of the cities and provinces, or an implementation of the system in the provincial cities (shi) and counties (kun) within 1987 and in the wards (ku) of the major cities in 1988 after the transition of the government.

Most of the DJP members think, however, that a partial and gradual implementation might receive harsh criticism from the people since the opposition party insists on the full-fledged implementation in larger units of cities and provinces as well as the the smaller basic units and direct election for the unit heads.

There are different opinions as to the implementation timing, too. The majority of the DJP members prefer the election of the self-government officials prior to the election of the electoral college in order to induce the opposition party to participate in the presidential election since the opposition party threatens to boycott it. Since it is furthermore undesirable to divert interest and energy right before the transition of the government, it is particularly difficult to implement the local self-government system after the presidential election.

The basis for those who insist on late implementation is also strong. If the opposition party boycotts the presidential election anyway, the election prior to the electoral college selection might mean a negative influence on the presidential election and generate chaos in the political schedule. They argue that the election of the self-government officials after the presidential election will not be a major burden.

Judging from the ruling side's plan for the scope and timing of the implementation of the local self-government system, we feel that they are trying to implement it as late as possible on a smaller scale.

The reactivation of the freedom of the press which is another attention-getting issue together with the self-government system is being continuously delayed contrary to the original prediction.

As of now, the following is known; the Basic Press Law will be revised concerning some of the abusive articles rather than be abandoned completely; a small-scale reactivation of one local press corp for each provincial city and a province; the revoking of the press-card-issuing authority from the Ministry of Culture and Information.

Among the various articles of the Basic Press Law approved by the legislative branch in December 1980, the following articles are expected to be revised: the registration and nullification of periodicals; the criminal responsibility of editors; information request rights; and protection of sources of information.

The problem of freedom of the press lies more in an unofficial outside influence than in the regulatory mechanism. Thus, there is a distinct limitation in view of the fact that merely improving the law or regulation cannot bring about a drastic turning-point in the activation of the freedom of the press. Furthermore, the improvements that the ruling circle is contemplating are getting fewer as time passes. Thus the results remain to be seen.

Some of the political prisoners might be released on 5 May, Buddha's birthday, but the extent and quality are not yet known.

Among the 450 convicts, who are candidates for temporary release, those who showed repentance of their behavior during the trials were already released. Excluding those who violated the national security law, therefore, the actual number of releasees cannot be high.

It is speculated that no more than 100 will be released on the grounds that a large number of releasees at one time will discredit authority and trust in the execution of the law, and will add momentum to the activists' movement which is gradually resuming.

Since every conceivable democratization measure has a limitation and is treated based on political consideration, it is already doubtful how much support they will get from the people.

The success of the democratization measure depends on how they harmonize the gap between the inherent limitation in democratization and the people's expectation.

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CSO: 4107/173

## CABINET RESHUFFLE REPORTED

## Ministers Resign

0W130813 Tokyo KYODO in English 0803 GMT 13 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 13 KYODO--Home Affairs Minister Ko Kon and four other cabinet ministers submitted their resignations to President Chon Tu-hwan Monday morning, making it most likely the president would carry out a cabinet reshuffle, probably later in the day or Tuesday.

They tendered their resignations to help Chon to form a "neutral cabinet" free of party political ties, observers said.

The four other ministers were sports minister Yi Se-ki, communications minister Yi Tae-sun, science and technology minister Yi Tae-sop and state minister for political affairs Cho Ki-sang.

All five are members of the Democratic Justice Party and all except Lee Tae-sup head district constituencies of the ruling party.

The imminent cabinet reshuffle is aimed at distancing the government from the ruling party to help carry out a fair presidential election late this year, the observers said.

With the cabinet reshuffle and an expected reshaping of the party hierarchy, the ruling party will step up preparations for the presidential election.

No Tae-u, the DJP chairman who was also picked as acting party chief after Chun's resignation as DJP president last Friday, has already been nominated the ruling party's candidate for the presidential election.

The observers predict the imminent cabinet reshuffle may result in seven or eight ministers being replaced with "neutral figures" from bureaucratic and academic circles.

According to South Korea's YONHAP news agency, other ministers likely to be replaced include health and social affairs minister Yi Hai-won, who has been serving as a cabinet minister for a considerable length of time.

Prime Minister Yi Han-ki, 69, also reportedly wishes to resign for reasons of poor health and advanced age, but he has been premier for only six weeks since his cabinet succeeded that of Lho Shin-yong on May 26. The Lho cabinet stepped down to take responsibility for the police torture-murder of a Seoul National University student in January.

Some analysts speculate that discussions by the ruling party's top brass may be centering on whether to retain prime minister Lee, therefore, and the reshuffle may be delayed until Tuesday.

Meanwhile, trade and industry minister Na Ung-pae is rumored to be likely to give up his national assembly membership and remain in a new cabinet.

#### 'Sweeping' Cabinet Reshuffle

SK130924 Seoul YONHAP in English 0919 GMT 13 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 13 (YONHAP)--Korean President Chon Tu-hwan Monday named Kim Chong-yol, former defense minister and a member of the presidential advisory council on state affairs, as prime minister replacing Yi Han-ki.

In a sweeping reshuffle affecting eight ministers, Chong Kwan-yong, government administration minister was appointed as home affairs minister and Chong Ho-yong, former home minister, was appointed to be defense minister.

So Myong-won, chairman of the projected education reform committee, was named as education minister, replacing Son Chae-suk.

Chon also named Cho Sang-ho, vice president of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, as sports minister, replacing Yi Se-ki.

The post of communications minister went to O Myong, vice minister of the communications ministry, succeeding Yi Tai-sun.

Chang Ki-o, vice minister of government administration, was promoted to assume the portfolio of minister of administration.

Also joining the cabinet as science and technology minister was Pak Kung-sik, president of the Korea Institute of Energy and Resources. He replaced Yi Tae-sup.

Chon named presidential spokesman Yi Chong-yul as state minister for political affairs. Choe Chae-uk, president of the KYONGHYANG DAILY NEWS took Yi's post.

Presidential spokesman Yi Chong-yul, announcing the cabinet reshuffle, said that Monday's shake-up was designed, as declared by president Chon on July 1 in his special announcement for democratic reform, to manage the nation's political timetable in strict fairness.

Yi also said that the president hopes the new cabinet could contribute to achieving national tasks on the basis of social stability and national reconciliation.

The cabinet change came after Prime Minister Yi visited Chongwadae, the presidential residence, Monday afternoon to submit his resignation and the resignations of ministers who concurrently hold national assembly membership under the ruling Democratic Justice Party.

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CSO: 4100/278

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

DAILY VIEWS CHON'S CABINET RESHUFFLE

SK140023 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 14 Jul 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Cabinet Reshuffle"]

[Text] In a nutshell, yesterday's reshuffle of the cabinet reflects President Chon Tu-hwan's professed resolve to ensure "fair play" in the forthcoming presidential elections expected toward the end of this year. It immediately followed President Chon's relinquishment Friday of the presidency of the ruling Democratic Justice Party.

Quitting the DJP post, he said he will execute his presidential duties from "a suprapartisan position" during the remainder of his tenure. The president stressed that he will "stringently and impartially" administer the political agenda for a peaceful change of administration.

True to his words, President Chon removed from the cabinet those holding DJP offices or parliamentary membership. They were replaced by career bureaucrats and professionals in their portfolios. Also affected by the reshuffle were the portfolios which, were, in their nature, politically sensitive to the recent protests.

The revamping, in which the prime minister and eight ministers were affected, could well be a response to the opposition demand that a neutral suprapartisan cabinet be set up to ensure fairness in the upcoming elections. President Chon made a precedence in the four decades of this republic's during his tenure. Surely, this is additionally significant at this juncture when the nation is about to realize a peaceful transfer of power for the first time in its constitutional history.

With all this in mind, we expect much from new Prime Minister Kim Chong-yol, whose seasoned experiences and ability are quite suitable for the premiership. He has experience of all important aspects of state affairs: military, cabinet portfolio, diplomatic, parliamentary and civil enterprise jobs. All this taken into account, he has served as a member of the Advisory Council on State Affairs.

Needless to say, the nation now stands at a crucial moment which will determine its future. We should carry out an orderly political agenda so as to make the peaceful power transition a reality.

The new cabinet would be confronting additional challenges conceivable in a period of transition. It should keep society stable to ensure security and the well-being of the people while guaranteeing an orderly process of the political agenda. It also should be responsible for ensuring national harmony and reconciliation which is a prerequisite for the success of all the political programs in progress.

All this behooves the new cabinet to be aware of its historical significance. Especially, it should endeavor to keep social order and discipline which are liable to be loosened at a time of political transition.

The new cabinet might find itself in a delicate position in relations with the ruling party. It should develop a relationship with DJP without impairing its impartiality. Policies recommended by the party in the genuine interest of the people need to be taken into account. The DJP, for its part, should sound out the people's minds, in sincere and earnest manner, to reflect them in its policy formulation.

The political agenda we are about to undertake is so precious that we should under no circumstances allow anything to prevent it being a success. It is the responsibility for all, irrespective of political affiliation. Of course, the cabinet should bear the brunt of that responsibility.

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CSO: 4100/281

## DIE WELT INTERVIEWS KIM DAE-CHUNG

DW131231 Bonn DIE WELT in German 13 Jul 87 p 7

[Interview with Korean opposition leader Kim Dae-chung by Fred de la Trobe in Seoul; date not given]

[Excerpts] WELT: Mr Kim, you suffered greatly under the autocratic regimes of Pak Chong-hui and Chong Tu-hwan. Despite that bitter experience, are you optimistic about political developments in Korea following the sensational statement by government party chairman No Tae-u?

Kim: I am basically optimistic, not because of No Tae-u's statement, but because of our people's strength and maturity. Since 10 July this country has entered a new era.

WELT: Once civil rights have been restored to you, will you join the opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) and what are your political plans?

Kim: After I have my civil rights back, I will join the RDP. I stated that I would not run in the presidential elections. But after that statement there were very many protests. Every day I get hundreds of phone calls and letters from the people. Anyway, I agreed with Kim Yong-sam that after talks to be held in the near future, there would be just one opposition presidential candidate. I do not see any major difficulties in this respect.

WELT: Would an agreement be possible under which one of you would be the presidential candidate and the other the vice presidential candidate?

Kim: Yes, that would be one of the possible options.

WELT: What will be the role of the military in a future democratic society?

Kim: The military will have to be entirely confined to the role of national defense. We will never abuse the military for political purposes. Most senior military officers would like to keep the military out of politics because they know how much the people hate military rule. Most generals have children, nephews, or nieces at universities. They know therefore what the public thinks about such a regime. They also know that if the military continue to rule they would lose the people's support. That could jeopardize our security. There is just a minority among the senior military officers who enjoyed privileges under Chon and want to have a say in politics.

WELT: Are you now expecting good cooperation with the government in implementing democratic reforms?

Kim: I think so, yes. If the government really wants democratic reforms, why not? We do not seek retribution. We want national reconciliation. That is why we suggested a national cabinet in which the government party, the opposition, and independent parties would be represented. Such a cabinet would have the approval of the whole of the people. It could push democratization and bring about reconciliation between the Chon government and us, the opposition. It also would allow Chon easily to resign in February next year, as planned. The next government would not be burdened with problems of the past.

WELT: No Tae-u's statement on democratization was sensational. But it was also interesting because some important points were not mentioned--workers rights, the right to strike, and the right to organize trade unions. Do you think that the government will continue to prohibit such rights in the future?

Kim: That is a very important question. Tens of thousands of workers were laid off by their enterprises because they declared for a free trade union movement. Their names are on an official blacklist. That is why they cannot find new jobs anywhere. Their living conditions are desperate and we have to deal with the problem. The government has pursued a policy of giving priority to exports, involving in particular labor intensive products. In doing so, workers and peasants in particular have become the victims of the economic miracle.

WELT: Do you think that the Olympic Games will take place next year without any problems because the political situation has improved and demonstrations have ebbed?

Kim: Nobody knows what will happen tomorrow. But I think that under a democratic government we will be able to hold successful Olympic Games next year. We have never wanted to obstruct the games. We were only opposed to them because the Chon government exploited them for its own purposes, to justify suppression and to postpone democratic reforms. Olympic Games are important, but democratization is more important.

WELT: Will the threat from communist North Korea continue to be a burden to Korean democracy?

Kim: I would not deny that. On the other hand, the FRG does not consider East Germany such a serious threat. Why should we always feel a burden? In South Korea, the population amounts to 42 million as compared to 20 million in the north. Our economy is much more developed than that of North Korea. Our educational level is very high. Our people reject communism, but value highly democracy and freedom. Therefore, why can we not adopt an attitude similar to the FRG? When conditions in our country become democratic, our attitude will be similar to that of the FRG, when we have a dialogue with North Korea. When we have a democratic government, the people will support it fully and that means stability and security in our country. That might

induce North Korea to give up its ambition to make South Korea a communist state. Then serious negotiations with Pyongyang could be initiated to implement a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula with the support of the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, and China. Then we could start a cautious, gradual process of reunification, because--unlike in Germany--none of the four powers has the right to oppose such reunification efforts.

WELT: No Tae-u's sensational democratization statement has met with great approval at home and abroad. Do you not think that he will be a very strong candidate in the presidential elections with a good chance to win--the more so since the government's influence in all fields of South Korean public life is very great?

Kim: I do not feel very qualified to answer that question. However, according to my years of experience with our people I would like to say that South Koreans are not so naive not to see through that. I am skeptical, but let us wait.

WELT: It was reported that you and Kim Yong-sam have been rivals temporarily regarding the leadership of the opposition. Is that true? If so, what is your relationship now?

Kim: We have had good cooperation since Pak Chong-hui imposed his military dictatorship in 1972. In 1980, after Pak's death, when there was a great chance for democratization in South Korea the first signs of rivalry came up between Kim Yong-sam and me. I think that was quite natural under the then democratic circumstances. Later followed Chun's coup d'etat. The dictator had me arrested and sentenced to death. Simultaneously he forced Kim Yong-sam to keep quiet. When in 1983 it became possible for us to become politically active again to a limited extent, we collaborated closely in opposition to the military regime. Now elections are imminent, and we are not sure whether we will be able to defeat the government party's candidate. So we agreed that there would be just one opposition candidate. We will continue the collaboration. The government has tried to split us, but has failed.

WELT: What will the United States' and the U.S. Army's future role in a democratic Korea be?

Kim: Unfortunately the U.S. Government for a long time failed to give us the impression that it stands for democracy in South Korea. Ever since Pak Chong-hui's coup in 1961 the Americans have applauded the military regime. That is why there is a strong anti-American tendency in our country, in particular among young people. However, the majority of our people are sensible and do not want to have the United States as an enemy because that would be against our national interests. As long as North Korea exists, supported by the Soviet Union and China, we cannot afford to have a quarrel with the United States. Lately however, since 10 June, the Americans have been highly impressed by our people's mature attitude. They have realized something very important: If they do not support democracy in South Korea this time, they will make the people their enemies. This is why the United States has basically changed its policy.

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

RDP IN 'SERIOUS DILEMMA' OVER PETITIONERS

SK182356 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 19 Jul 87 p 2

[Text] The major opposition Reunification Democratic Party is in a serious dilemma about how to deal with implacable petitioners, mostly in groups, who come to the party office to present various desperate demands. They are urging the opposition party to undertake a troubleshooter role.

The opposition party is not in a position to settle all these petitions while at the same time, it cannot turn a deaf ear to the petitioners' demands.

On Monday, a group of 200 students and workers who had just been freed from jail and the family members of those still imprisoned stormed into the RDP office, throwing RDP President Kim Yong-sam's news conference into a mess.

The intruders urged the RDP to further struggle for the "across-the-board release of political prisoners" before going into substantive talks with the Ruling Democratic Justice Party on the constitutional amendment.

They also demanded a "joint press meeting" with Kim to manifest their cause. As a result, the RDP head had to continue his press meeting in a small office as he had to leave the large conference room.

As their demand was not accepted, they staged a sit-in protest at the opposition party headquarters overnight.

The protesters drove party head Kim and key RDP officers into a corner to agree to issue a "statement for joint struggle" in which he even called for the dissolution of some counter-intelligence agencies, which he claimed were involved in the oppression of dissidents.

A lot of DP lawmakers criticized the party leaders for their "concession" under the wild actions of the protesters.

While holding a sit-in on the fifth floor of the RDP headquarters, another group of 30 dismissed teachers entered the RDP office and requested a talk with President Kim Yong-sam.

They demanded that the RDP issue a joint statement calling for the re-employment of teachers expelled for political reasons, the formation of teachers' union and the guarantee of the three basic rights of workers.

The dismissed teachers left the party office upon the RDP policy maker's promise that the opposition party would reflect their demand in its draft amendment to the Constitution and its party policies.

The next day, a group of 100 persons who had been evicted from their illegally-built houses in the suburbs of Seoul started a sit-in protest at the RDP office.

They strongly called on the opposition party to struggle against the government's "re-development projects" and to secure programs for their rehabilitation.

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CSO: 4100/0291

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

FORMER POLICE CHIEF QUESTIONED IN TEARGAS DEATH

SK190014 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 19 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] The Seoul Prosecutor's Office yesterday questioned eight police officers including former chief of Sodaemun police station Kim Su-kil connection with the death of a student who died of head injuries suffered when hit by a teargas canister fired by riot police during anti-government protests on 9 June.

After the interrogation, prosecutor Kim Chin-se who leads the investigation said it seems to be almost impossible to pin down who shot Yi Han-yol in the head during the turbulent situation when over 40 rounds of teargas canisters were fired at one time.

Prosecutor Kim, however, said the prosecution would continue the investigation over the next few days by calling in 40 riot policemen known to have fired at the demonstrators at around 5:05 p.m., when the misfortune took place.

In yesterday's questioning, three platoon leaders and four company commanders who were dispatched to lead the riot police deployed around the protest sites of Yonsei University were intensively questioned to find out if they followed safety regulations on teargas firing.

Police officer Kim was quoted as saying the riot police had fired two rounds of SY44 type teargas canisters at 4:50 p.m. and 5:05 p.m. each, toward the main gate of Yonsei University to stop some 600 demonstrators who stormed into the street, hurling rocks and fire bombs.

Other police officers were also reported to have said the student victim must have been hit by the teargas canister fragments fired later in view of the time he met the mishap.

They also reportedly said a total of five companies of riot police were mobilized against the protesters with one company of five in plainclothes.

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POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

RIOT POLICEMAN GOES ON HUNGER STRIKE

0W080621 Tokyo KYODO in English 0608 GMT 8 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 8 KYODO--A South Korean riot policeman abandoned his post and went on a 10-day hunger strike here Wednesday in protest against the government.

Yang Sung-kyun, 22, took a taxi from his police station to a church hall in Seoul where an antigovernment movement is based to stage the hunger strike.

He also issued a "declaration of conscience" demanding that the government and ruling Democratic Justice Party respect the people's right to live rather than think only of their own interests.

In a meeting with reporters, Yang appealed for police and riot police to be given a degree of independence as a short way to democratization and for a campaign urging them to disobey improper orders.

Criticizing opposition parties, Yang said young people were fighting with their lives for democracy in South Korea.

He said he plans to go back to his police station when he ends the hunger strike but may continue the strike for an indefinite period if his demands are not met.

Yang, who was assigned to the riot police while doing compulsory military service, said he tried in vain to persuade fellow riot policemen to join the hunger strike before finally deciding to take the action by himself.

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CSO: 4100/278

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

SERVICES FOR YI HAN-YOL TURN VIOLENT IN SEOUL, KWANGJU

Kwangju Service

SK091154 Seoul YONHAP in English 1142 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Text] Kwangju, Korea, July 9 (YONHAP)--A memorial service for a late university student was observed here with the attendance of an estimated 100,000 people Thursday afternoon.

The service, organized by the National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution, a dissident organization, was interrupted several times because of police action taken to disperse some hundreds of unruly anti-government demonstrators who attempted to move into the provincial government office of South Cholla Province by firing tear gas.

The protestors stormed the main gate of the provincial office and engaged in violent scuffle with police before being driven back by tear gas.

They were among some 100,000 people who gathered at a plaza in front of the office building to mourn the death of Yi Han-yol who died last Sunday of brain injuries after being struck by a tear gas canister in Seoul.

Yi Han-yol, a student at Seoul's Yonsei University, died 27 days after he was hit in the back of the head by a tear gas canister in his school compound during an anti-government demonstration on June 9. Yi was from this provincial city.

From 4:40 p.m. the crowd in front of the office staged a violent protest demanding that the office hoist the national flag at half mast in honor of Yi's death.

Large numbers of people started gathering in the plaza from 4 p.m. to attend the mourning ceremony. At 5:30 p.m. the people jampacked the plaza and the street leading to the plaza from a downtown hotel.

The ceremony was to start at 5 p.m. but was delayed by 45 minutes due to the turmoil resulting from the protest.

Meanwhile, in Seoul, hundreds of thousands of people staged an anti-government sit-in protest in downtown earlier Thursday, where they gathered to mourn the death of the late student.

Some 200,000 spectators gathering at the large plaza facing Seoul city hall at one time chanted "down with the dictatorship" as they watched a funeral motorcade.

#### Students, Police Clash

OW091131 Tokyo KYODO in English 1117 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 9 KYODO--South Korean students and police clashed Thursday as the youths vowed to crush president Chon Tu-hwan's government although steps have been taken for democratization of the country.

The first massive confrontation since Chon last week announced acceptance of opposition demands for political reform occurred in Seoul in the course of a march for a 20-year-old Yonsei University student, who died last Sunday after he was hit on the head by a police tear gas canister during a campus demonstration on June 9.

The funeral service was held at Yonsei University. Dissident Kim Tae-chung, whose civil rights were reinstated in a government amnesty announced Thursday morning, was among the dignitaries who attended the service.

Following the funeral, some 60,000 students and citizens took to the street for a six-kilometer procession to city hall.

As they marched more people joined the procession. The number swelled to about 200,000 in front of city hall.

Some demonstrators pulled down a Japanese flag from a nearby hotel and burned it.

About 30 students climbed to the roof of city hall and lowered an Olympic flag. They then hoisted a South Korean flag and a Seoul city flag at half-staff.

En route to city hall, the young marchers chanted "down with the killer government" and "crush the dictatorship and regain democracy."

At city hall, about 100,000 student demonstrators tried to proceed to the North, as some of them said, "Let's go to blue house (presidential residence)."

Riot police set up roadblocks in front of DONG-A ILBO newspaper office. The students chanted slogans calling for the ouster of the Chon government.

Police fired tear gas canisters at 2:50 p.m. (1:50 p.m. Japan time).

A number of demonstrators were injured but students continued to clash with police. A police jeep was set on fire.

In announcing amnesty Thursday morning, the government restored rights for 2,334 people, including Kim Tae-chung.

This was the third move toward democratization made by the government since Chon's announcement last week. Earlier 177 people held since July 10 antigovernment demonstrations were freed and 357 political prisoners also were released.

Among those who regained civil rights were large numbers of politicians considered close to Kim Tae-chung.

In a newspaper interview published Thursday, Kim Tae-chung indicated he might run for president in the election scheduled for late this year.

He said there has been "the voice of protest" since he said last November he would not be a candidate for president.

He said he wants to "listen to the voices of many people."

His remarks are certain to complicate the question of choosing an opposition presidential candidate.

Kim Yong-sam, head of the major opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), may have to work out ways to resolve the issue.

The options being considered are the selection of one candidate by vote among RDP members in talks between the two Kims or mediation by a third person.

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CSO: 4100/278

## DAILY HAILS AMNESTY MEASURE FOR DISSIDENTS

SK100017 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 Jul 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Amnesty for Reconciliation"]

[Text] In the wake of the ruling camp's manifestation of an extensive democratic reform package last week, the government has taken a series of conciliatory measures designed to defuse the long-tense sociopolitical situation and foment the national reconciliation.

Since last Monday, more than 530 political prisoners, either convicted or detained for pre-trial probes on charges of anti-government activities and political offenses, have been released from physical confinement, while about 270 persons were freed from the police wanted list.

Capping these actions yesterday was a sweeping amnesty, along with the restoration of civil rights, granted to a total of 2,335 dissidents who had been barred—for some for as long as the past 15 years—from taking part in political activities.

The amnesty, the largest in terms of the number of beneficiaries since the incumbent government was formed in 1981, is notable in that it underwrites the ruling camp's political resolve, not a mere administrative relief, to deregulate its political opponents, transcending the cases in which they were implicated.

More practically, the series of conciliatory actions--though not all of the dissidents were released or given amnesty as demanded by the opposition--is expected to remove a major roadblock in opening the way for bipartisan political negotiations on the impending democratization tasks including a constitutional amendment.

Excluded from the clemency are those described by government authorities as "hard-core" members of pro-communist organizations and those charged of outright criminal offenses in addition to political accounts. But, the authorities said that lenient steps would also be taken for them, if they repent and promise to abide by the law.

One highlight of the amnesty yesterday is the "formal reemergence" of Kim Tae-chung, a formidable dissident leader, to the political scene, although he has already been deeply involved in running the opposition camp in spite of the government's political ban.

Since most others released are also seen to take part in politics on the opposition side, though their roles may vary, the amnesty will have both immediate and far-reaching impacts on the national politics, which is in a transitional phase in quest for a fully-bloomed democracy.

While a government spokesman characterized the extensive amnesty and release of political prisoners as an action to cast off the sorry legacy of the past and to achieve genuine democratic progress on the basis of national reconciliation and unity, it is indeed hoped that the nation's political development be pursued in a stable and mature atmosphere that precludes entirely the vicious cycle of chaotic strife and the political punishment of opponents.

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**EXPelled STUDENTS TO RETURN TO CAMPUSES**

SK110139 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 11 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] The Education Ministry officially announced yesterday that the college students expelled for their involvement in anti-government protests since 1984 will return to school from September in line with the on-going social atmosphere for democratization.

Presidents of universities or deans of colleges will have full responsibility in deciding whether to readmit students. The ministry will change articles to allow the readmittance beyond enrollment quota.

Matters on the teachers forced to quit or aspiring teachers rejected from employment because of their anti-government activities will be left at the discretion of respective education boards of each city or province.

An estimated 600 students can avail themselves of the reinstatement measure. Many of them were released from prison Wednesday.

Aside from the 600, those who failed to take term exams for involvement in various anti-government protests are allowed to be back in the fold this time. The same is applied to the students who went into hiding being sought for by police, according to the ministry.

However, about 50,000 students who were forced to leave schools for their poor academic performance will be denied the chance of reinstatement, the ministry said.

The ministry said a work is underway to ensure campus autonomy, leaving most of the academic and administration affairs to the hands of universities.

For this purpose, the ministry is now tapping various opinions from all walks of society how university campus autonomy is best achieved and how universities can be prevented from sliding into degeneration in academic and administration affairs when given full freedom.

By saying so, the ministry said the university authorities will be given added responsibility for the guidance of students so that they may not get into trouble with law.

On the matters of ousted teachers, it had better be settled between the teachers and the board of education through dialogue. The boards should pay due attention to the educational and ideological inclination of the teachers in view of the serious nature of the effect teachers will have on the students they teach.

Those who quit schools in protest against the government can return for schools the second semester. However, the chance of returning back to school requires government amnesty when it comes to teachers who were tried and convicted.

The government authorities are considering granting the favor of a conscription postponement until graduation to expelled students who are readmitted to their schools.

At present, no favor is given to such students ousted for involvement in anti-government protests for democracy.

However, such a benefit would not be extended to the students above the age of 29.

The government plans to drop charges against students who violated conscription laws, in connection with anti-government and political activities. But the expellees who are not readmitted in school will not benefit from the government measures.

In the meantime, the government will also drop charges against any students who skipped Home Reserve Forces training, as long as they make up for the missed exercises.

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POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

STEPS TAKEN TO REINSTATE DISMISSED TEACHERS

SK120056 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] The Seoul Board of Education plans to reinstate a total of 24 teachers who have been dismissed since 1980 in connection with various anti-government activities, demanding democracy.

It was revealed yesterday by Choe Yol-kon, the superintendent of the Seoul education board, in a meeting with the dismissed teachers yesterday.

Choe said, however, that Yu Sang-tok, 38, former teacher of Songdong Boys High School arrested on spying charges, will be excluded from the leniency.

The teachers will be reinstated possibly in coming September when the fall semester starts, after the government takes due legal steps for their reinstatement, according to the superintendent.

The meeting was arranged after the dismissed teachers and 17 teachers college graduates who were excluded from the employment list staged an overnight sit-in Friday.

The education board also plans to nullify the disciplinary sanctions taken against 40 teachers by the board since 1980 in connection with various dissident cases.

Meanwhile, the Education Ministry reportedly instructed yesterday that city and provincial education boards take appropriate steps to reinstate a total of 80 teachers dismissed since 1980 in connection with the "teachers' democratization movement."

The ministry also revealed that superintendents of education boards can restore to original positions the teachers who were transferred to schools in remote rural areas or islands after being disciplined for their leading roles in the democratization movement.

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## SEOUL CITY EDITOR VIEWS EARLY JULY EVENTS

SK110134 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 11 Jul 87 p 3

[By City Editor Chong Un-pong, from the "News in Review" column]

[Text] This passing week has been jam-packed with big incidents. On Wednesday, 357 people jailed for antigovernment protests for democracy were set free.

The release was followed by another government action on Thursday restoring the suspended civil rights for so-called political prisoners totalling 2,335, one of whom was Kim Tae-chung.

This is the most visible step the government has taken toward democratization. It is also an act attesting to the reliability of the ruling camp's announcements on democratization by No Tae-u, chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, on June 29.

Of course, there are lingering doubts that the No's announced package can ever be put into force.

Undoubtedly, the government action on the so-called political prisoners is a positive step although many still argue that the government has yet to return to society some it still keeps behind bars on the pretext of their ideological contamination.

The opposition camp is not satisfied, demanding the release of all the people stagnating for their struggling for "democracy."

Now, the democratization moves have just started. And the issue of the convicted anti-government protesters, which has been the major bone of contention for the ruling and opposition camps, has just started to be acted upon.

This has been not a problem for the Fifth Republic alone. It dates back to 1972 when the Yusin system was implemented. It is not a matter to be solved in a single stroke.

Noted student activists, including Kim Min-sok and Ham Un-kyong of Seoul National University and Ho In-hoe of Korea University were excluded from the release on Wednesday.

Since they are students, perhaps it is feared that they may have some bad effect on the "silent" campus.

Besides, their families have had no scruples about pushing their demand for their immediate release without bothering to assail opposition camp leaders including Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung who have worked for their release.

The government amnesty measure, despite its importance in the nation's long journey toward democracy, appears to have drowned out by the unprecedented turnout of people for the funeral of Yi Han-yol, a Yonsei student, who died of head injuries he sustained from an exploding tear gas canister during a demonstration.

The size of the crowd gathered at Seoul City Plaza was so large that people were simply awed. Some put the size of the crowds at 500,000. Others put it at about 1,000,000.

Even by rules of thumb, it is not easy to estimate the figure because the crowds were so huge.

Of course, there were clashes between student demonstrators and riot police. However, the clashes were not so serious that most people, who had worried that the crowds might get out of control, could heave a sigh of relief at the end.

In Kwangju, the hometown of Yi, there was also a large turnout of people. Estimation of the size varied. Some say it was 100,000, others put it at 200,000. Some others say the number went well above the 300,000 level.

Yi's body was received by huge crowds packing the downtown streets of the provincial capital.

Of course, there were demonstrations that continued throughout Thursday night. But, to the relief of the people of good intention, no serious violence was reported. People hope this is a good sign for the future course of current democratization moves. But, not enough to stave off the haunting notion of "what if..." [elipses as published]

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## CATHOLIC CHURCH'S INTERNAL DISCORD, POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Seoul WOLGAN CHOSUN in Korean Jun 87 pp 204-224

[Article by novelist and free-lance reporter Yun Il-ung, author of such books as "The Yusin Structure versus the Democratization Movement" and "The Opposition Forces"]

[Text] Recent Trend of the Catholic Church in South Korea

Amid breathtaking swirls of the political situation, which produced the birth of the Reunification Democratic Party and the 13 April presidential action that turned the clock back on the constitutional reform drive, the Catholic Church of South Korea is drawing an unusual amount of attention from both political circles and the general public by showing a tendency of becoming increasingly vocal on social issues. The Catholic Church's such propensity for involvement in the realities of life is not entirely new to the Korean people. For they are well aware of the church's past activity going back to the days of the late President Pak's "Yusin" program--an activity centered around a group of Catholic priests seeking social manifestation of justice.

Just the same, on the eve of the scheduled 1988 transfer of power and in the prevailing "fog-shrouded political situation" that makes even a near-term prediction a risky venture, it is only logical that the Catholic Church's stance on various issues is drawing society-wide attention for its potentially significant influence on the future course of political development.

Broadly, one can cite two most noteworthy actions recently undertaken by the Catholic Church that are of internal and external significance. One is the decision by the conference of bishops to suspend temporarily the activities of the Catholic Farmers Association and the National Council of Catholic Laity. The other is the fast by priests, started in the Kwangju archdiocese and subsequently spread throughout the country. Although seemingly an internal affair of the church in appearance, the former action, by which the conference of bishops seems to have effectively curtailed the action radius of the "Catholic Farmers" and the "Council of Laity," can in no way be considered as a matter strictly internal in nature when one considers the fact these two organizations

have in the past served as a conduit through which the Catholics performed their acts of involvement in the realities. Meanwhile, the fasting by priests has a significant implication in that it was a conscious choice made by the participating priests to get themselves involved more directly than ever in the realities of life.

In short, the Catholic movement, unlike the university-activist groups and the political opposition elements, has an organization and members that are not only nationwide in scope but also highly sophisticated in quality; thus, depending on how it handles itself, it could very well prove to be a variable factor in the process of shaping our future political scene as well as society in general.

#### A Surprise Decision

On 23 March 1987, a regular springtime general meeting of the conference of bishops convened at the 5th floor conference room of the Catholic Council of Korea Building located at Nung-dong, Songdong-ku, Seoul. Attended by 17 bishops led by Cardinal Kim Su-hwan, representing all dioceses of the country, the meeting lasted for 4 days through 26 March and resulted in the announcement of a decision by the conference of bishops consisting of a total of 11 separate articles.

The regular general meeting of the conference of bishops, held twice annually--once in the spring and another in the fall, is where important issues of the Catholic Church of South Korea are discussed and settled; it may, therefore, be regarded as the church's supreme deliberative mechanism.

Of the decision rendered by the conference of bishops at its latest springtime general meeting, one specific item--Article 10--has aroused much interest as well as controversy not only within the church but also among the general public. Article 10 dealt with the roles of the national organizations of Catholic laymen's missionary groups; it contains the following specific stipulations:

--That an organization, even if it is national in scope, cannot undertake its activity in any diocese without a specific approval of the bishop in charge of that diocese;

--That a laymen's missionary group must be organized by Catholic believers only. The Catholic Farmers Association's charter, which allows non-Catholics to become members, can no longer be retained. Accordingly, the association's national headquarters must cease its operations, and each of its local units at the diocese level must, in accordance with the policy of the conference of bishops and the instructions from the bishop responsible for the respective diocese, reorganize itself as a separate diocese-based organization and adopt a new charter before it can resume operating;

--That the Catholic Students Association must be organized in the form of a consultative body, wherein representatives of individual chapters can congregate and consult with each other. The so-called "General Federation of the Catholic Students" is an entity which has never been recognized by the Catholic Council of Korea; and

--That the Laymen's Missionary Council of South Korea must, until such time its new charter is approved by the conference of bishops, limit its future activity only to that of its diocese-level units.

#### The Decision Is Opposed as Being "Against the Current of the Times"

The reaction was swift to this decision by the conference of bishops: concerned organizations such as the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity have come to agree that the decision is "absolutely incomprehensible"; the general view among the group of priests seeking justice in action has been firmly along the lines that the decision is "hardly convincing" and is "against the current of the times."

The latest springtime general meeting of the conference of bishops devoted its opening day to a joint session (a round of conversation) with the superiors (representatives) of monasteries and convents, without even touching on the main agenda items. Substantive issues were discussed during the remaining 3 days, 24-26 March. On 26 March, the closing day of the meeting, all participating bishops even found time to take part in a "symposium commemorating the establishment of order in church circles."

Normally the meeting of the conference of bishops devotes 8 hours a day on an average. Plenary sessions are presided on a rotational basis by Cardinal Kim, chairman of the conference; Archbishop Yun Kong-hui (head of the Kwangju archdiocese), vice chairman of the conference; and Bishop Kim Nam-su (head of the Suwon diocese), executive officer (secretary) of the conference.

The controversial Article 10 was taken up on the last day of the meeting. The session, presided by Bishop Kim Nam-su, developed into a grave battle of words over Article 10 among the bishops. Unlike other agenda items which quickly produced an agreement without much of a dissenting view, Article 10 became the focus of raging debate lasting nearly an hour and a half. Those bishops supporting the article maintained that the presence of non-Catholics in the membership of the Catholic Farmers Association, while possibly be of some value from the standpoint of propagation (proselytizing), was liable to a misrepresentation contrary to the intrinsic principles of the Catholic Church, and that, therefore, it was time for the association to switch from quantitative expansion to qualitative growth. Moreover, pointing out that certain bishops directly responsible for such affairs should reflect on their failure to properly administer those organizations under their jurisdiction, the proponents of the article insisted that the measures stipulated in the article were indispensable if only to ensure belated fulfillment of the responsibilities of those concerned bishops. With regard to the Council of Laity,

pointing out that the council, despite being a consultative body, had been functioning more like a federation, they argued that the council needed to strengthen its original functions as a consultative body.

Those bishops opposing Article 10 held out the following views: That the Catholic Farmers Association, as an entity in the church in action, had always been faithful to the church's teachings in the execution of its mission and role; that the same applied to the Council of Laity; that, given the increasing importance of the role of laity in the modern-day church, it was ill-advised to curtail the activities of these organizations in the name of the leadership authority; that the question of excluding nonbelievers warranted reconsideration from the standpoint of propagation, for the presence of nonbelievers was no cause of alarm so long as they, albeit not having been baptized, supported the purposes and followed the wishes of the Catholic Farmers Association; that the Council of Laity, although not totally free of some peripheral problems, did not seem to have gone beyond the functional bounds of a consultative body; and that, furthermore, making such a decision at this particular point in time for the stated reasons was inappropriate in its timing for it was highly likely that such a move would evoke criticisms and misunderstandings, certainly within the church itself but from the general public as well.

The debate between the two opposing groups of bishops over the pros and cons of the issue went on without producing a consensus; in the end, the issue had to be settled by a vote. Except for the election of a chairmen's group, voting is a practice rarely used at a meeting of the conference of bishops. This is so because, before a vote is called for, all issues are subjected to sincere exchanges of views among the bishops who, in most instances, manage to find enough points of agreement leading to a unanimous decision.

Thus, when a confrontational situation of unyielding nature develops over a given issue, necessitating a vote, the usual practice is to hold the issue over until the next meeting so that differing views may be further coordinated toward a unanimous decision. Yet, in the case of Article 10, instead of holding it over to the next meeting of the conference of bishops for further detailed discussions and examination, it was put to a vote then and there. The voting was by a show of hands. The vote favored the proponents by an overwhelming margin; Article 10 thus became an official decision of the conference of bishops. As the proceedings of such a meeting of the conference of bishops are held as "secrets to the outsiders," the names of those bishops who supported the article and of those who opposed it have not been officially made public, but a rumor has it that the margin of the vote was 11 to 6 in favor of the article.

#### "The Rumor Is Not True"

It is said that the 11 bishops who voted for the article were Bishop Kim Nam-su, Archbishop Yi Mun-hui (primate of the Taegu archdiocese), Bishop Thomas Pak [Thomas Pak] (primate of the Chunchon diocese; Irish; belongs to the Columban mission), Bishop Kyong Kap-yong (primate of the Taejon diocese), Bishop (Guillermo) Na (primate of the Inchon diocese;

American; belongs to the Maryknoll mission), Bishop Yi Kap-su (primate of the Pusan diocese), Bishop Chong Chin-sok (primate of the Chongju diocese), Bishop Chang Pyong-hwa (primate of the Masan diocese), Bishop Kim Chang-yol (primate of the Cheju diocese), Bishop Kim Ok-kyun (assistant bishop of the Seoul archdiocese), and Bishop Kang U-il (assistant bishop of the Seoul archdiocese). The six bishops who voted against the article were said to be Cardinal Kim, Archbishop Yun Kong-hui, Bishop Chi Hak-sun (primate of the Wonju diocese), Bishop Pak Chong-il (primate of the Chonju diocese), Bishop Du Pont (primate of the Andong diocese; French; belongs to the Foreign Mission Society of Paris), and (Apostle) Yi Tong-ho (serving as the representative position of the North Korean diocese; a member of the Bundo Monastery).

This time, unlike in the past, the outcome of the vote was greeted by a confusing array of adverse reactions from within and outside the church. The rumors regarding the vote margin ranged from 11 to 6, 13 to 4 (the opposing votes were reportedly cast by Cardinal Kim, Archbishop Yun, Bishop Chi, and Bishop Du Pont), to 10 to 7. The 10-to-7 version had the 4 votes, cast by Assistant Bishop Kang U-il, Bishop Pak Chong-il, (Apostle) Yi Tong-ho, and Bishop (Guillermo) Na, reversed from what was reported in other versions. All this may be construed as evidence of a high degree of interest, both within and outside the church, in the decision made by the conference of bishops. One interesting thing revealed in the 11-to-6 version of the rumors was that two assistant bishops of the Seoul archdiocese, Kim Ok-kyun and Kang U-il, reportedly parted from Cardinal Kim, the primate of their archdiocese, by voting in favor of the article. From a commonsense standpoint of the general public, it would seem not an easy choice by far for a bishop to support a viewpoint that runs counter to the wishes of the primate of his diocese. Nonetheless, the conference of bishops being the forum for deliberations of matters that concern the whole Catholic Church of South Korea, individual bishops could, irrespective of the views of their respective dioceses and superiors, possibly express their own views based on their independent judgments; for this reason, it is conceivable that the two assistant bishops may indeed have taken a stand different from Cardinal Kim's.

Be that as it may, the rumor about the conference of bishops having approved the article by a vote of 11 to 6 is nothing more than a rumor; one finds it difficult to accord it full credibility. For one thing, the meetings of the conference of bishops are traditionally closed to the outsiders; for another, it is inconceivable for the outcome of a vote taken at such a meeting to become a public knowledge in such specific numerical details.

Strictly a conjecture, but this writer believes that the probability is high that the actual margin of the approving vote was even bigger than the rumored 11 to 6. If so, it goes without saying that the actual lineups of the bishops who voted either for or against the article may very well prove to be different from those alleged in the 11-to-6 rumor.

At any rate, when Article 10 became the subject of heated controversy and finally had to be settled by a vote, which resulted in an overwhelming approval of the article, the atmosphere of the meeting turned extremely awkward--the kind of awkwardness rarely experienced by the group in the past. Cardinal Kim became very depressed and Bishop Chi, too, appeared to be "in a bad mood," so goes the story. The awkwardness was not so much the result of whose view had won out and whose view had lost out in the vote in terms of individual bishops; rather, it was permeated by a combination of factors such as the fact itself that an issue of that nature had just been so hotly debated among the bishops and that the issue had to be settled by a vote because the bishops had failed to produce a unanimous decision. While it is probably inappropriate to view the result of a vote by the conference of bishops in the wordly context of "power games," it does seem like an objective assessment to conclude that what transpired at this particular gathering of the bishops was a mirror reflection of the traditionally moderate and conservative disposition of the conference of bishops.

Also discernible from the outcome of this meeting is an indication that those bishops who have been newly added to the membership of the conference of bishops since the mid-1970's--Bishops Pak Chong-il, Kyong Kap-yong, Kim Chang-yol, Kim Ok-kyun, and Kang U-il--are no exceptions to that general categorization of disposition in terms of their philosophical orientation. This means, in other words, that even in the 1980's the disposition of the conference of bishops has continued to be as predominantly conservative as ever, showing little difference from what it had been during the 1970's. In contrast, "the laity in general and the majority of priests not only believe it is appropriate and necessary for the Catholics to involve themselves in the realities of life but also hope that their such involvement will become more energetic in the days ahead," (The Catholic newspaper CHUGWAN: "Awareness Survey of the God's People"--an analysis by Professor No Kil-myong).

Consequently, a widening disparity is emerging between the conference of bishops on the one hand and the priests and laity in general on the other hand with respect to their philosophical dispositions. It is this situation which can also be considered as one of the factors that have caused such divergent reactions to the passage of Article 10 by the conference of bishops.

#### Reactions of the "Catholic Farmers" and the "Council of Laity"

Following the conclusion of the springtime general meeting of the conference of bishops, on 31 March Father Chong Un-kyu, secretary general of the Catholic Council of Korea, sent an official letter to the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity, advising them of the decision made by the conference of bishops. As soon as the decision thus became officially known to those within and outside church circles, reactions more sensitive than had been expected by the conference of bishops began to surface from many quarters within and outside the church.

To begin with, the government authorities made known their position of welcoming the action by the conference of bishops indirectly through an editorial in the SEOUL SINMUN (10 April edition). The editorial stated in part, "...Especially the report that this decision was approved by an 11-to-6 vote margin has brought us the poignant realization of the traditional reasonableness cherished by the Catholic Church....This is a most proper and correct decision." The editorial even expressed a discreet(?) hope with the following words: "Under the wings of the Catholic Church, there still exist quite a few groups which may yet prove to be latent political organizations. We believe that there ought to be wise supervision exercised over these groups as well."

On the other hand, organizations such as the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity that are directly affected by the decision of the conference of bishops are, as noted earlier, steadfastly maintaining the position that it is "an incomprehensible decision." While reserving direct responses to the decision of the conference of bishops, the group of priests providing guidances to these concerned organizations and those individuals ho are in charge of these organizations have been trying to establish contact with the conference of bishops based on the principle, which they laid down, that the issue should be resolved through a dialogue.

On 8 April, the group of priests providing guidances to the Catholic Farmers Association sent out a letter entitled "A Message to the Members of the Catholic Farmers Association of South Korea." The letter read in part as follows: "...We as your guidance priests wish above all to convey our regret to our dear brothers and sisters, who are members of this organization, for the confusion you must be experiencing as a result of the announcement of the sudden decision by the conference of bishops. For the sake of hopes and salvation of 'all the farmers living on this land,' our association has continued to endeavor to bring about 'reform of the secular order.' We have reaffirmed time and time againthat doing so is the way to achieve reconciliation of life with faith and to attain living gospel." So reminding the members of the legitimacy and honorable nature of the association's conduct, the letter went on to urgethem "to remain calm, to be even more resolute than before, and to practice ever more faithfully the charter, the platform, and the rules of the association." The letter then advised the members as follows: "We the priests responsible for your guidance are continuing our efforts to learn more about the contents as well as the background of the decision by the conference of bishops, and we as a group shall, in accordance with God's will and for the salvation of the farmers, work out appropriate ways to deal with this problem."

On 14 April, subsequent to the mailing of the above letter to the membership of the Catholic Farmers Association, the same group of priests sent a letter of inquiry to the conference of bishops, posing 10 questions concerning the decision of the bishops' meeting. In it, the priests asked about the specific background (evangelical and regulatory reasons) that had led to the decision; at the same time, they made issues of the bishops' lack of understanding of the current state (organization, mechanism,

activity) of the Catholic Farmers Association and of the questionable rationale, attributable to such lack of proper understanding, behind the bishops' decision. Cordially but firmly, the priests went on to express their regret about, and their desire to receive an explanation for, the procedural inadequacies surrounding the passage of Article 10.

By way of a response to the letter of inquiry, Bishop Chong Chin-sok, who has the jurisdictional responsibility over the Catholic Farmers Association, summoned Father Chong Ho-kyong, the guidance priest for the association's national headquarters, and all the guidance priests from those dioceses where the association is present and in active operation to a meeting at the offices of the primate of the Chongju diocese on 23 April.

Assembled for the meeting that day were nine guidance priests, one each from the following dioceses: Chunchon, Suwon, Kyonggi-amalgamated, Kwangju, Chongju, Chonju, Andong, Wonju, and Pusan (Cheju diocese was excluded; Father Ho Yon-ku, the guidance priest of the Taegu archdiocese did not attend because the area chapter of the Catholic Farmers Association had not been officially approved by the primate of the diocese).

The meeting between Bishop Chong and the group of guidance priests commenced at 10:30 am. At the meeting Bishop Chong shed light on the background as to why the question concerning the Catholic Farmers Association was raised at the general meeting of the conference of bishops, saying that it was done "on the basis of the recommendation for the second time by the conference of assistant primates"; as for the decision to exclude non-Catholic believers from the association's membership, Bishop Chong explained that it was prompted by the concern about the trend of the association's activity turning into a social movement.

The remainder of the discussion that took place between Bishop Chong and the group of guidance priests is summarized below in the question-and-answer format:

The priest group: The media reported that the issue was approved by an 11-to-6 vote--is this true? We cannot understand why the vote result was passed out as a news item to the media in such a hurry, even before the concerned organizations and their leaders were advised of it.

Bishop Chong: What was reported by the media is different from the facts. At any rate, it is regrettable that the decision of the conference of bishops became known first to those outside the church. Apparently there was a mixup in the administrative procedure (distribution of news items). (But Bishop Chong did not clarify as to how exactly the media version was at variance with the facts, nor did he make any reference to the actual vote count. His explanation went only as far as pointing out that the media report as a whole was not factual.)

The priest group: On 21 March (Saturday), 2 days before the bishops meeting, Father Chong Ho-kyong, the guidance priest for the national headquarters of the Catholic Farmers Association, briefed you on "the views of all guidance priests throughout the country regarding the membership qualifications of probationary believers and nonbelievers." At that time, saying that it would be difficult for you to accurately relay such views verbally to the conference of bishops, you suggested that a written report be prepared and promptly delivered to the secretary general of the conference of bishops, expressing your confidence that it would surely be used as a background material at the bishops' meeting. We did as you suggested: The material was prepared and sent on the morning of 23 March via registered special delivery. It is our understanding, however, that this material was neither discussed nor made available at the bishops' meeting. Is this true?

Bishop Chong: At the meeting I gave an oral account of the views of the nationwide guidance priests, and later I distributed copies of the material to all the bishops. It was handled this way not for any special reason so much but probably for reasons having to do with administrative procedure.

(But, from another bishop, this writer was able to confirm that the material in question never saw the light till the end of the bishops' meeting. A source within the Catholic Farmers Association speculates that Bishop Chong probably ignored all other points included in the material and merely explained the negative aspects of the membership qualification question at the meeting.)

The priest group: All things considered, we find the decision of the conference of bishops difficult to understand. It is a decision that will do more harm than good; there is a great danger that this decision will result in a drastic withering of the Catholic farmers' movement. We believe it is desirable that this decision be reconsidered.

Bishop Chong: But obviously there is no way I can convene another meeting of the bishops right away, is there? At the fall general meeting I will convey your views to other bishops.

The dialogue lasted for nearly 2 hours till 12:30 pm. Bishop Chong then hosted a lunch for the group of priests. When Bishop Chong excused himself after the lunch, the group of priests held a meeting of their own from 2 to 3 pm and prepared a recommendation to be forwarded to the conference of bishops. Father Chong Ho-kyong and other representatives of the group delivered the recommendation to Bishop Chong at his office that afternoon.

Father Yu Kang-ha (in charge of the Uisongdaim Church) of the Andong diocese says that from the dialogue with Bishop Chong that day he came away with an impression that "the bishops had made that decision based on their inadequate understanding of the activities of the Catholic Farmers Association." As evidence in support of this impression, he pointed to the bishops' decision to suspend the activity of the national headquarters of the Catholic Farmers Association, thinking that it had assumed centralized authority whereas in fact it had always functioned as a consultative body of all diocese-level chapters.

Meanwhile, reacting to Bishop Chong's explanation that the item concerning the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity was taken up at the bishops' meeting on the basis of a recommendation which had come out of a national conference of assistant primates, a priest in the "Y" diocese had this to say: "If I remember correctly, what Bishop Chong was referring to happened 2 years ago: At a meeting 2 years ago something like that was briefly discussed, but I had no idea it would become an agenda item at this bishops' meeting." While showing his sense of incredulity, he nevertheless avoided making any specific comment regarding Bishop Chong's statement.

#### Bishop Kim Nam-su's Handwritten Notice

Bishop Kim Nam-su, who has the jurisdictional responsibility over the Council of Laity, personally notified Chairman Han Yong-hui of the Council of Laity of the decision of the bishops' meeting. His handwritten letter, dated 3 April, full text of which follows, urges in no uncertain terms that the stipulations of the decision of the conference of bishops be implemented vigorously.

"Chairman Han Yong-hui  
Laymen's Missionary Council of South Korea

"I am sending you herewith an official dispatch from the conference of bishops. It concerns the matter of suspending the activities of your national council. Although the suspension is to be temporary--until such time your new charter is approved by the conference of bishops, I am sure you, too, can surmize that the decision reflects a problem of fundamental nature that has arisen. This problem is rooted in the disparity of views between the bishops, who consider the role of the Laymen's Council as a national entity an extremely limited one, and the leaders of the council, who want to have the council undertake a wide variety of activities as a national entity.

"Our church operates on the basis of local autonomy. Local churches come under their respective dioceses, and our national organizations up through the conference of bishops are consultative bodies; hence, the bishops do not wish to see our laymen's organizations place themselves above the dioceses and develop independent activities as national entities.

"At any rate, I hope you will suspend the council's activity as a national entity and devote your undivided attention to the activity of the council within the Seoul diocese.

"3 April 1987  
Bishop Kim Nam-su"

Despite the liberal use of circuitous expressions, the overall tone of the letter conveys the firm position that the decision of the conference of bishops is neither reversible nor open to a compromise.

Subsequent to his receipt of the letter, Chairman Han Yong-hui (a professor at Sukmyong Women's College) of the Laymen's Council called on Bishop Kim at Suwon to discuss the matter. The visit failed to produce any positive response from the bishop, who simply reiterated that what he had said in the letter should be followed.

#### A Product of Authoritarianism?

In the case of the Catholic Students Association, discord began to develop in August 1984 between its members--university-level Catholic students--and two bishops--Bishop Kyong Kap-yong (formerly in charge of the Students Association matters) and Archbishop Yi Mun-hui (currently in charge of the Students Association matters)--over the latter's guidance policy. After Archbishop Yi took over the responsibility for the Students Association matters, the National Council of Catholic Students ceased to exist to all intents and purposes. It is said that Archbishop Yi was highly displeased with such activities of the Students Association as leading various campus demonstrations and distributing printed matters in the name of the Students Association, while neglecting such other activities that were more in line with the traditional, pure Catholic ethos. So, he put restrictions on the association by such means as disapproving its budget. Then, in June 1985, the association members formed the General Federation of the Catholic Students of South Korea. At the latest general meeting of the conference of bishops, however, the traditional principles were reaffirmed and it was irrevocably made clear that the General Federation of the Catholic Students is not an organization recognized by the Catholic Church.

Against Archbishop Yi's relentlessly hard-line position, the Students Association, unlike other Catholic laymen's groups, is voicing extremely bitter criticism. This general attitude of the association's membership is well discernible from the following words spoken by student "Y" of the "S" University chapter of the Catholic Students Association in Seoul:

"This may or may not be related to the government's overall stance for dealing with campus problems but these days Catholic students on campuses very often cannot even obtain official sanctions from the school authorities for their presence as organized entities and their activities have shrunk considerably from the levels of the past. Archbishop Yi seems to be all nerves about the distinction between a "federation" and a "consultative body," but the activities of the Catholic Students Association have been more consultative in character than those of any other organizations. It is wrong to assume that these students with minds of their own are being manipulated at will by a uniform command. Even if a system of 'federation' in name as well as in substance existed, the students simply cannot be manipulated that way. To our eyes, therefore, not only does the guidance policy of Archbishop Yi's seem to be a case of excessive worries, it also makes us wonder at times whether the archbishop is really interested in fostering the Catholic student movement even in the form of a consultative organization. In our judgment, it is not going too far to say that Archbishop Yi is driving the Catholic Students Association backward instead of helping it go forward. It is disheartening, indeed. We believe we

have been thorough in ensuring that all of our activities have been in conformity with the principle of consultations among all diocese-level chapters of our association, but apparently this is not what Archbishop Yi thinks. The inevitable conclusion is that a gap exists between the responsible bishop and the students' association in their respective interpretations of the character of a consultative organization and the modality of its activity. I might say that the situation we have now is a reflection of inadequate dialogue toward elimination of this gap. Truly a difficult situation it is...."

In any event, faced with the decision by the conference of bishops, members of the affected laymen's organizations are shaking their heads and are united in expressing their view that the decision is difficult for them to accept. On the other hand, the group of guidance priests, their true feelings aside, are refraining--at least on surface--from making straight forward expressions critical of the bishops' decision.

Chairman So Kyong-won of the national headquarters of the Catholic Farmers Association had this to say: "This decision by the conference of bishops can be taken as a product of the church's institutionalism or even as tyranny of authoritarianism. Where can you find someone who is a believer from the time of birth? Some members of the Catholic Farmers Association may be nonbelievers but they are the ones who agreed with the goals of the association and chose to join it. In the course of their activities as members, most of them come to realize the need of becoming believers if they wished to function as proper members of the association; they then voluntarily study the doctrine and eventually become the believers of the faith. In the case of Taedong-myon, Hamp'yong-gun--my hometown, some 20 men and women, mostly members of the Catholic Farmers Association, are now studying the doctrine and they are even planning to appeal the bishops' decision. Similar moves are widespread among the members of the Catholic Farmers Association throughout the country. Simply put, the decision by the conference of bishops ignores 'the duties and rights of the laity' as stipulated in Article 204 of the Catholic Church Code; it is an abuse of power in the name of the leadership authority."

#### Efforts To Concentrate on Converting Nonbeliever-Members into Believers

Chairman Han Yong-hui of the Council of Laity, too, views the decision of the conference of bishops as inappropriate. He said:

"The point to remember is this: The existing charter of our council is the same one which the conference of bishops approved 4 years ago. What the conference of bishops has done this time is an act of self-contradiction: it has discredited the very charter which it previously approved. Try as hard as I may, I cannot think of anything we the council did which exceeded the bounds of a consultative organization. As soon as the bishops' decision came out, some 20 members of our standing committee met informally and exchanged views; the conclusion reached was that 'the council's position must be clarified.' Right now we are getting ourselves prepared to do just that. In the final analysis, the crux of the problem is a perceptual

difference between the bishops and the membership of the Council of Laity; in my view, this is not a very big problem. In fact, I was thinking that an intelligent way could be found to overcome this problem when we were suddenly hit with this decision by the conference of bishops. At any rate, I believe the presence of this perceptual difference should be made into a turning point for further growth of the church."

Another complaint among those connected with the Catholic Farmers Association or the Council of Laity is that the bishops' decision is posing some interpretational problems. According to this complaint, the decision not only failed to point out what specific and factual errors had been committed but also made no mention of detailed implementational steps other than what was stated in the announced text of the decision.

Consequently, the complaint goes on, at this point the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity are completely in the dark as to what internal changes they should attempt to institute in order to comply with the bishops' decision. Other than paying attention to the decision as an exhortation that they be more faithful to their consultative functions, these organizations are unable to decide how else they should treat this decision. Of course in the case of the Catholic Farmers Association, the propriety of having nonbelievers included in its membership has now been brought forth as an immediate issue. But even on this issue, the compliance with the new policy is being treated with sufficient leeway depending on the local situation in each diocese. In fact, Archbishop Yun of the Kwangju archdiocese, in a conversation with a representative of the local chapter of the association, reportedly said, "In our diocese, I like to see the farmers' movement pushed forward in a more visible and distinct manner, and I want you to work hard toward that end without worrying about the question of nonbelievers. But I also want you to take heed to the intent of the conference of bishops, make concerted efforts to convert nonbeliever-members of the association into believers, and see to it that they are baptized." It is also reported that Bishop Du Pont of the Andong diocese said similar things to a member of the association in his diocese: "Do not worry about anything; just devote yourself to the association's work. At the same time, in deference to what was decided by the conference of bishops, continue with your ongoing drive to convert your nonbeliever-members to believers."

Meanwhile, as for the reaction of the Vatican Mission in South Korea to the decision of the conference of bishops, no particular comments have been forthcoming from the mission so far--perhaps because Ambassador Monterisi, after serving 4 years and a half in Korea, departed Seoul on 13 April for his new assignment within the Vatican.

But around November 1986, months before the decision of the conference of bishops, Archbishop Yun visited Rome and had an audience with Pope John Paul II. At that time, Archbishop Yun sought a senior Vatican official's view on the question of nonbelievers in the membership of Catholic organizations. From the response he received, we may surmise the Vatican's stand on this issue. Specifically, Archbishop Yun's question was: "The conference

of bishops in South Korea is of the opinion that there are too many nonbelievers in the membership of Catholic laymen's organizations in South Korea. What is your view on this question?" The senior Vatican official reportedly replied, "At the hospitals and various social organizations run by the Catholic Church, those in charge are Catholic believers but there are many nonbelievers serving on the staff. If you look at the matter in that context, perhaps the answer to your question may be readily forthcoming."

#### The Biggest Mistake in the History of the Conference of Bishops?

It has been reported that Vatican holds a view quite sympathetic toward the Catholic Farmers Association. In April 1986, Chairman So Kyong-won of the association traveled to Strasbourg, France, to attend a seminar on the subject of "How To Solve the Problem of Food Shortage in the Third World and Food Surpluses in Countries of Great Power"; the seminar was sponsored by the Catholic International Federation of Rural Villages. On that same trip, Chairman So visited Rome and met with Pope John Paul II. Their conversation during a 40-minute private audience, as summarized below, reflected Pope Paul's very favorable assessment of the Catholic Farmers Association.

Chairman So: It seems to me the Vatican does not have a good understanding of the Catholic Farmers Association in South Korea.

Pope: That is absolutely not true. From time to time I have been receiving reports concerning your association and I am well up on it. From the evangelical standpoint, it is my view that your association is fulfilling the church's mission at the forefront of South Korean societies.

Chairman So: Yet there are some among our own bishops who do not fully understand the association's activity.

Pope: I want you to have frequent face-to-face dialogues with the bishops; this will facilitate better understandings. I also want you to meet with my ambassador to your country and exchange views with him.

Chairman So: How can I hope to meet with the papal envoy when I rarely have the opportunity for sufficient exchanges of view even with Korean bishops?

Pope: Are you saying that you have not met with my ambassador--not even once? (with an expression of surprise)

Chairman So: Yes. Since the day your envoy arrived on the scene, not once have I had the opportunity for a face-to-face discussion with him. Such an opportunity is hard to come by.

Pope: I shall immediately instruct my envoy in Seoul to arrange such opportunities.

Upon return from the trip, Chairman So--perhaps as a result of such papal instructions--became a regular recipient of invitations to all the receptions held by the papal mission. Still, an opportunity for face-to-face meeting with the envoy himself never presented itself. Finally, one balmy spring day, the papal envoy flew out of Seoul for good.

One of the elements of the unanimous complaint about the bishops' decision among those connected with the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity is a procedural question. Specifically, it blames the conference of bishops for two procedural failures: One, the bishops had failed to accurately grasp the actual state of affairs of the two concerned organizations before making the decision affecting them; two, the bishops had failed to accord guidance priests or the individuals in charge of these organizations any opportunity to appear before them and explain whatever question they the bishops had. Consequently, the decision the bishops made not only missed the point but also proved detrimental to the tradition and dignity of the conference of bishops, normally known for extreme deliberateness in its proceedings.

Mr "K" of the Council of Laity had this to say: "Even a criminal is accorded by the trial court a chance to explain his deed before the verdict is rendered--that's the rule, and yet... Even if there were to the eyes of the bishops some problems with the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity, the bishops should have pointed out the problems to these groups and asked them to take corrective measures; had they done so and arrived at the kind of decision they made only after the corrective measures proved unsatisfactory, it would have made sense. But obviously such common sense had no place at the bishops' meeting this time. I believe it was some vague preconception on the part of certain bishops regarding these two organizations that affected the overall atmosphere of the meeting in such a way to produce the kind of decision that came out."

Mr "K" concluded his remarks with an afterthought, suggesting that the decision by the bishops at their general meeting of spring 1987 pertaining to the activities of the laymen's organizations will go down in the annals of the conference of bishops of the Catholic Church of South Korea as an action that was against the current of the times and as the worst mistake ever made by that body.

#### Bishops Take Hands-Off Policy Toward Fasting by Priests

The decision by the conference of bishops is a manifestation of the sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership group desirous of reinforcing the functions of individual dioceses that are basic to the local-autonomy-oriented functions of the Catholic Church and of establishing an action policy that is more in line with the Catholic ethos--so goes the explanation of the rationale for the decision. This, however, is pure rhetoric intended for a make-believe public announcement; in truth, the presence of a hidden(?) motive desirous of clamping down on the voicing of views on secular affairs by the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of

Laity is clearly indicated by the hurried process used for making this decision--so say the critics. The critics' version may not be accurate; but, the circumstances surrounding the decision seem to provide at least a basis for such a misunderstanding.

Although there have been no responses by the conference of bishops to the reactions of the Catholic Farmers Association, the Council of Laity, and the Catholic Students Association, one official of the Catholic Council of Korea has stated that the decision by the conference of bishops was not intended to eliminate the church's tendency to get involved in secular affairs, and that its aim is entirely different from things of that nature. He said as follows:

"A careful reading of the announcement by the conference of bishops will indicate that the objects and goals of the Catholic Farmers Association, the Council of Laity, and the Catholic Students Association are not even at issue at all. What it says, I believe, simply is that all laymen's organizations must, in their dealings with the church and the society, function not as contending forces but in the spirit of service--that they must play the role of yeast.

"Take the case of the National Council of Laity. By way of an example, one problematic question is this: Are all the statements issued in the name of the national council fully coordinated with and agreed to by all diocese-level chapters and all church-level laymen's groups? They may appear to be so in form, but there are reasons to believe that they are not in actual process.

"In its dealings with the Catholic Students Association, the church has been negligent in many respects in terms of the church's rules. There are 60 full-time Catholic chaplains working in the 600,000-men Armed Forces; by contrast, there are no full-time priests to take care of the 4-million-men student community--the parish priests are looking over the students on the side, resulting in inadequate guidance. It is this kind of situation the bishops, who after all are the highest body responsible for the rules, have come to realize and decided to improve it in conformity with the rules. The decision of the conference of bishops reflects that. Although critics are faulting the bishops for procedural failures such as not having provided the concerned groups an opportunity to explain their positions and not having instructed these organizations to take corrective actions prior to making the decision, the issue in question was first raised 10 years ago and I believe there have been enough signals sent to these organizations during all these years, making it abundantly clear to them that the bishops wanted corrective actions all along."

#### The Bishops' Decision Is Purely a Matter of Rules

Continuing, the same official pointed out that the leaders of the Council of Laity ought to do better in studying the church's teachings, that all of them should have a better understanding--not a superficial but an in-depth understanding--of the intents and purposes of the laymen's

missionary movement, and that they should pay closer attention to the workings of their organizations with those basic things in mind.

For instance, he said, if a local chapter of the Council of Laity decided to launch a campaign refusing to pay listers/viewers' fees to the KBS [Korean Broadcasting System], its chairman should advise the primate of the area diocese and seek his approval for this action, but this is not always the case in reality. The question of whether the primate would or would not approve such an action is one thing, but the failure by the group to even report the matter to the primate is another, more serious matter. Therefore, continued the same official, it is the duty of the bishops responsible for the guidance and supervision of all laymen's organizations, to rectify such an act of paralogism. Another factor that had influenced the bishops' decision concerning the Council of Laity was a grave concern over the council's (its national council's) tendency to cast itself as a force of influence in the society. This tendency is a direct violation of the church's ethos. The bishops may well have remembered certain instances of the past in which some leaders of the laity, acting in the name of the Council of Laity, indulged in the exercising of influence vis-a-vis society and accrued personal gains (?) that occurred reflectively from their actions. Thus it seems like a fair assumption that reflected in the decision in question by the conference of bishops is a desire to systematically root out such unsavory elements through the introduction of a new charter for the Council of Laity.

The bishops' decision pertaining to the Catholic Students Association may be viewed as the first step taken by the church in search of an affirmative set of rules governing the student-youth classes. As a practical matter, it is impossible for the Catholic Students Association at a university to divorce itself from today's campus realities. Thus, how to guide these students is a question of immediate concern to the Catholic Church as well. Today's student activists are marked by a high degree of intellectual maturity and cool-headed judgment; they are watching the realities with probing eyes; they know more about the theory of liberation theology than guidance priests. Any attempt by priests of lesser caliber to provide on-the-scene guidance to these students simply will be an exercise in futility. In a broader sense, the student movement throughout the university circles has a side that makes it inherently challenging to the society and the church. The future of the Catholic Church in South Korea depends on how wisely the church can respond today to the challenge posed by the student movement.

The concern of the conference of bishops that the Catholic Students Association, in its relations with other campus groups, should not tend to being or otherwise cast itself as a force of influence is in part justifiable.

The bishops' decision, suspending the activity of the Catholic Farmers Association's national headquarters and insisting on the association's members being believers of the Catholic faith, can be viewed as a move intended more for formality and pronouncement value than for anything

else. If the logical base of the decision is to stand, the decision should apply to the Association of Catholic Working Youths which also has nonbelievers among its members. Yet this organization is excluded from the intended targets of the decision. Thus, it seems unlikely that the activity of the Catholic Farmers Association will actually wither as a result of the bishops' decision. As a matter of fact, the association has not been affected by it at all. The problem of nonbelievers can be worked out to whatever extent as may be called for, depending on the association's needs. By promising to study the doctrine a nonbeliever can become a probationary faithful and thereby gain the association's membership; upon completion of the study, barring some unusual circumstances, nothing will prevent him/her from being baptized. Even the suspension of the activity of its national headquarters is having no adverse impact on the association because the association's organization, configuration, and activities are not dependent on its national headquarters. Be that as it may, on the question concerning the concept and limitations of the national headquarters' operation, there seems to exist a need to iron out the perceptual differences between the association, which considers its national headquarters wholly as a consultative organ of all diocese-level chapters, and some bishops who do not share that view.

The circumstances surrounding this decision by the conference of bishops have been a subject of wide-ranging speculations on the part of the public in general, but the most reliable sources have it that the decision simply was an act of the conference of bishops undertaken purely for reasons of the church rules and for no ulterior motives. Thus, it can be said that drawing from the vote result such conclusions as that the bishops put brakes on the trend toward involvement in secular affairs by the Catholic laymen's organizations, that it was a victory by the conservative group of bishops over the progressive group, or that it was a conciliatory gesture by the conference of bishops toward the government is a judgment arising from the ignorance of the facts about the Catholic Church. By the same token, the decision is no cause for much joy for the government either. The proof of this is evident in the fact that the bishops not only made no move to restrain but rather encouraged it when, on 21 April, a group of priests in the Kwangju archdiocese began a hunger strike which was followed by sympathy hunger strikes among priests of other dioceses. That these fasting priests were calling for more respect toward human rights and democratization of the nation was noteworthy enough, but more significant was that their act of fasting itself emanated from the church's position favoring involvement in the realities of the secular world. Thus, these hunger strikes by priests can be viewed as a symbol indicating that the Catholic Church's involvement in secular affairs is now an irrepressible trend of the times.

A close look at these hunger strikes by priests in various dioceses reveals the following common characteristics: They were organized primarily by young priests; even some priests, usually reticent about getting involved in activities related to secular affairs, either joined in on the fasting or organized rooting teams when they realized that the method being used was in accord with the church's ethos; and what the fasting priests were

doing drew enthusiastic support from the faithful. As for the impact on society, these actions by priests are said to have injected new courage into those involved in the democratization campaign and the public in general--those who had been feeling the chills in the air subsequent to the 13 April proclamation, and served as a catalyst for a wide-spread use of fasting as a means of expressing one's will. Other common features noted were that all such hunger strikes commenced nearly simultaneously, and that their proceedings consisted of such activities as prayer meetings, broadcasting through public-announcement system the purpose of their fasting, lectures and discussions, and reading mass.

In the case of the Kwangju archdiocese, a group of 12 priests commenced fasting from 4:00 pm on 21 April at a sixth-floor lecture hall of the Catholic Center building located on the street called Kumnam-no in the downtown section of Kwangju. These priests had planned on taking a vacation after completion of their ecclesiastical duties over the Easter holiday on 19 April; but, a discussion among themselves of a more meaningful way to spend their time in consideration of the prevailing state of affairs led them to settle on a hunger strike. Once the decision was made, they began drafting a statement to be issued and preparing placards and printed materials for distribution. At 7 pm that day, they issued the statement subtitled "With Our Prayer of Fast For Constitutional Reform To Allow Direct Election of President." In it, the fastingpriests stated in part, "Democratization must not be differentiated on the basis of how advanced or how less advanced a nation might be; it is an absolute basic right which all men created in the image of God should rightfully enjoy and which must be respected and protected; and therefore it cannot be delayed for any reason whatsoever...." The statement enumerated four objectives of the hunger strike as follows:

--To promote popular elections of village heads up through president of the nation (to restore the right of the people to elect their own governments--a right deprived of them since the Yusin days);

--To promote unconditional release of conscientious offenders and political prisoners and restoration of civic rights to democratic personages from whom such rights have been taken away;

--To promote a guarantee of full-fledged suffrage and freedom of speech instead of a nominal revision of the existing law governing the media and limited local autonomy--to have the ropes untied by those who tied them, as the saying goes; and

--To promote an honorable withdrawal of the regime in power to atone for all the sins it has so wantonly committed when and since it took over the power.

#### Authorities' Request To Desist Rejected

As soon as the statement was broadcast through the public-announcement system facing the Kumnam-no street and printed materials (some 500 copies were prepared in the first batch) distributed, pedestrians halted their

steps to listen and taxi drivers stopped to pick up the leaflets. Then, 20 minutes later, police showed up in the area surrounding the Catholic Center and a fire engine arrived; tensions swept the scene.

About 10 o'clock that evening, Father Mun Chong-hyon came from the Chonju diocese to share his own experience of fasting with the striking priests. Of the 12 priests of the Kwangju diocese involved in the hunger strike, only 2 had had previous experience of fasting; to this group, therefore, Father Mun's talk based on his own experience was very beneficial.

On 22 April, the second day of the fasting, the public-announcement system was kept busy, and the diocese office received a telephone call of inquiry from Cardinal Kim Su-hwan in Seoul, who said he had learned about the fasting through the CHOSUN ILBO reporting.

About 11 o'clock that morning, deputy chief of the South Cholla provincial police bureau and head of a high-level agency came to the diocese office and requested that the fasting prayer be called off. The request was rejected by the priests, who continued fasting. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the third day of the fast, Archbishop Yun Kong-hui paid the fasting priests a visit, encouraging them to carry on to the full extent of their conviction while being careful of their health. About 2:30 pm on the fourth day, Archbishop Yun made his second visit and spent 30 minutes talking with the group. On that occasion, Archbishop blessed the fasting priests, saying, "Your prayer through fasting is nothing less than a prayer for this nation; it is an act of sharing the pains of all those who are being subjected to inhumane treatment and all forms of suppression. I believe your act is a symbol that represents the minds and wills of the people."

On the fifth day of fast, five doctors from the Catholic Physicians Association of the Kwangju archdiocese came and checked health conditions of the fasting priests. About noon, a letter of encouragement arrived from Cardinal Kim, saying he was unable to visit the group because he was leaving on a trip to Rome. In the letter, Cardinal Kim said, "The problem facing those displaced residents of Sanggye-dong is heavy on my mind. Meanwhile, I fully realize the fast-prayer meeting you the clergy of the Kwangju archidocese are conducting is with the nation's interest in heart. My prayer goes with yours."

On the same day, Governor Chon Sok-hong of the South Cholla Province requested a meeting with Archbishop Yun.

The hunger strike by the priests of the Kwangju archdiocese ended on its ninth day, 29 April, with a joint celebration of a mass at the Namdong Church by the clergy group of the diocese.

By the time the fasting ended the number of participating priests had increased to 19. Despite the rumors that the government authorities were set to break up the fasting by use of official power, there were no attempts made to impede the fasting.

## Outpouring of Support

When the fasting by priests began in Kwangju, the government apparently worried a great deal about its ripple effects on the society. On 25 April, Prime Minister No Sin-yong visited Kwangju to attend the opening ceremony of the "Pohun" Hospital; while he was in town, he reportedly had a telephone conversation with Archbishop Yun, in which both parties expressed much concern about the situation on hand.

During the fast, the priests practiced the art of abdominal breathing. They were given health-preservation lectures by Father Yi Chon-su--that they should do the (breathing exercise) and a type of stretching exercise often; that they should walk around often rather than lying down; that they should drink small amounts of water frequently; etc.

The fasting by priests, begun in the Kwangju archdiocese, subsequently spread to other dioceses in the following order: Chonju diocese (24 April); Seoul archdiocese (27 April); Andong and Wonju dioceses (29 April); Inch'on diocese (30 April); Chunchon and Masan dioceses (1 May); Pusan diocese (3 May); Taejon diocese (4 May); and Suwon diocese (6 May).

In the Seoul archdiocese, the fasting priests even held a 40-minute silent demonstration inside the cathedral with banners reading "Who Can Block Burning Aspirations For Democratic Constitutional Reform!?" ; "Down With Constitutional Protectionists! We Want Democratic Constitutional Reform!" ; etc.

Not uncommon at the early stages of these hunger strikes by priests were lectures given by guest speakers on various aspects of societal issues. The fasting priests in the Pusan diocese heard a lecture by attorney No Mu-hyon on the subject of constitutional reform. Those of the Inch'on diocese were given lectures by Professor Yi Yong-hui on "The Situation in Northeast Asia" and by Professor Chang Ul-pyong on "Current Political Situation in South Korea,"--to cite a few typical examples.

Foreign priests were seen visiting the fasting priests and sharing prayers with them before leaving the scene. As to the reactions of the primates to the hunger strikes occurring in their jurisdictions, it is fair to say that in general they made it clear that they viewed the fasting as an act of personal conviction by the priests involved and that even they the primates were in no position to tell those priests one way or the other.

In all the dioceses, the respective primate visited the scene of fasting by his priests with words of encouragement and concern for their health. Examples: "Unity among the priests within the diocese is a welcome thing. It is beautiful to see the way you fasting priests are living and praying together," (Bishop Guillermo Na); "Pay attention to your health. Let us not forget that the work of clergy is a work of service," (Bishop Du Pont); "Although I am unable to join you in the fasting, my prayer is with you all the time and I am concerned about your post-fast recovery of health," (Archbishop Yun).

Among the bishops, the only one who personally took part in the fasting was retired Bishop Choe Chae-son (former primate of the Pusan diocese). Despite his old age, he joined the group of priests fasting in the Pusan diocese.

Another activity at the scene of fasting was a steady stream of visitors coming to encourage the fasting priests: they included, in addition to local Catholic faithfuls, Protestant ministers, family members of those incarcerated, and officials of the opposition movements--all from the local diocese. The scene was also flooded by statements and other printed materials put out by various Catholic organizations as well as by political opposition groups, all expressing their support for the fasting by priests. In the Kwangju area, for example, 19 Catholic laymen's organizations under the wings of the Kwangju archdiocese, such as "The Association of Surviving Families of the Martyrs of the 18 May Kwangju Uprising," "The Association of the Young Comrades of the 18 May Kwangju Uprising," "The Students Federation of Mokp'o University," "The Students Federation of Chonnam University," "The Association of Wounded Victims of the 18 May Kwangju Uprising," "The Federation of Nuns of the Kwangju Archdiocese," and "The Association of Catholic Nurses," and more than 30 Catholic, Protestant, and local political opposition groups, including "The Kwangju Chapter of the Council of Family Movement To Realize Democratization," put out supporting statements and other printed materials. Although specific materials put out varied somewhat, this type of activity occurred in all other dioceses in the manner generally similar.

There were many pet-phrases used in placards and as slogans. At the Moksong-dong Church in downtown Andong, where the priests of the Andong diocese were fasting, more than 30 banners and wall-posters loaded with slogans were visible everywhere from the entrance on. The slogans used were many and varied; they included "Democratization Through Constitutional Reform," "Election of Village Heads Up Through the President by Our Hand," and "Stop All Acts of Torture!" Also in Andong, the fasting priests displayed signs of their sophistication (?) by putting on some 3 minutes of signal music before reading their statement over the public-announcement system to outside audience.

#### Hunger Sit-In by Students at Taegu Diocesan Headquarters

In explaining their motives for undertaking hunger strikes, the priests claimed that they were not trying to point accusatory fingers at anyone, nor were they after a victory in the fight against the government; rather, they said, they were sharing the people's sufferings and pains, and in doing so they were searching for ways to free the people from such pains while, at the same time, reflecting on their own possible shortcomings for having either tolerated or been indifferent to the sinful disposition of those in power; thus, they added, the fasting was their way of demonstrating their awareness of the secular reality.

But in the midst of all these hunger strikes by priests of all dioceses throughout the country, a strange mishap occurred in the Taegu archdiocese where an attempt by local priests for an organized fast was foiled. There, at 7:30 pm on 4 May, a group of 12 priests conducted a mass of repentance and atonement with a prayer for democratization at the Kyesan-dong Church in Taegu; following the mass, they announced a statement of support for the fasting and prayer meetings being held by clergymen throughout the country. But when they were about to begin their own fasting as a group, they were confronted by strong pressure from the diocesan authorities to desist; in the end, the group gave up the idea and dispersed about 11:30 pm the same day. In an alternative move, Father Won Yu-sol (of the Chukchon Church, Taegu), Father Kim Ok-su (of the Pomo-dong Church; the Franciscan order), and Father Pak Pyong-ki (director of the Taegu Sanatorium for Tuberculosis) went on a hunger strike of their own, individually, at the clergy hall.

In the Taegu archdiocese, an organized hunger strike was staged not by priests but by members of the Catholic Students Association at a location so unexpected that it caused Archbishop Yi Mun-hui's heart to skip a beat or two. About 6 pm on 30 April, 16 members (of whom 8 were female students) of the Catholic Students Association (also known as the Palmer Society) of Kyongbuk University suddenly made their way into the diocesan headquarters building located at Namsan-dong in Taegu. Their original intention was to stage their hunger strike right there inside the headquarters building, but they were persuaded by the diocesan officials to move to a Korean-style annex (a house of rest) behind the main headquarters building. These students (according to an official of the diocesan headquarters) reportedly went to the diocesan headquarters "in search of a place of solitude where they may pray in the spirit of Christian-like self-repentance and in harmony with the prayers of the fasting clergymen all over the country." Perhaps so, but it seems reasonable to assume that their discontent with the policy lines of Archbishop Yi also had something to do with their selection of the diocesan headquarters building as the place for their hunger strike. At any rate, the leadership of the archdiocese had a handful trying to change the minds of these uninvited visitors who came to the diocesan headquarters in search of "solitude." That same evening Archbishop Yi personally talked to the students; joining him were several officials, including Chairman Hwang Ki-sok (a professor at the Medical College of Kyongbuk University), of the local chapter of the Council of Laity. Some priests were there as well, naturally. Despite all the efforts made by these personages, the students did not budge: they refused the food offered by the headquarters staff; they stayed there overnight, fasting; but, next day--1 May--they voluntarily broke up and went home about 9:30 pm.

Although ineffectual in the end, the mere fact that these things--the expressed intention to go on a fast by a group of priests, and the short-lived hunger sit-in by Catholic students at the diocesan headquarters building--managed to happen inspite of Archbishop Yi's hardnosed and highbrow stand on the church's rules is significant in itself for these may be small symptoms of the changes that may yet occur in the Taegu archdiocese.

## Faith in God

As of the end of 1986, there were 1,148 Catholic priests (survey by CATHOLIC SINMUN) in South Korea, counting those assigned to the dioceses as well as those serving with various monastic orders. Excluding the ones now retired, there are about 1,000 priests in active service at present. Catholics in South Korea number 2,168,200 or 5.22 percent of the total population. This number does not compare favorably with the number of Buddhists and Protestants in South Korea. Nevertheless, the activity of the clergy numbering more than 1,000 and what is in the minds of more than 2 million Catholic faithfuls who are under the disciplinary influence of those clergymen are significant enough to make the government authorities nervous.

It is the current view of these priests that the church's internal position prevalent during the 1970's, which was critical of the church's involvement in secular realities as being political, has faded in the 1980's, and that as a result the logic favoring such involvement is now being accepted as being in tune with the trend of the times. They are saying that, although some differences still exist regarding methodological options, there is now a firm agreement that as a matter of principle the church cannot disassociate itself from the reality. In this connection, the thinking on the part of the conference of bishops is said to have changed considerably as well. Last November, all members of the conference of bishops spent 3 nights and 4 days studying the documents: one was the final report issued by the synod (a special general meeting of the ecumenical assembly of bishops) marking the 20th anniversary of the closing of the Vatican's Ecumenical Conference II that had produced the declaration concerning the Catholic Church's reforms and modernization; the other was the "Directive Concerning the Theology of Liberation" issued by the Vatican. It was a side of the conference of bishops rarely seen in the past. It is a proof of the extent of efforts being made by the bishops to come to grips with the real world. Commenting on this aspect of the bishops' posture, layman Mr "G" had this to say: "In old days the Catholic Church of South Korea was solely preoccupied with its own survival under persecution. But, now, the church has achieved remarkable growth, quantitatively as well as qualitatively. As a result, the bishops are full of self-confidence--so much so they are now worried about the negative aspect inherent in the attitude of improvement-ism that firmly believes in the church's victory (moral superiority) over the secular world. One should view the bishops' frame of mind in that context, which is the motive power pushing the bishops closer toward the reality." The bishops may indeed have come a long way in changing their thinking and may also be trying to come to grips with the reality, but there are still indications of their estrangement from the reality as evident in their decision, made at the last spring general meeting of the conference of bishops, concerning the laymen's organizations. The question is, why? Father Hwang Sang-kun (national guidance priest for the Association of Catholic Working Youths) explains, "Although the bishops' state of mind (awareness of the reality) has clearly improved from what it was in the past, the pace of social changes has been even faster. Thus, the gap not only remains but may have been widened." He

then poses, cautiously, a rhetorical question: Is it not reasonable to apply the saying "Man's thinking does not create circumstances; circumstances create man's thought" even to the bishops? Now that the bishops have made the decision concerning the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity, all-around efforts must be made--however awkward this may be--by all concerned to learn more about each other: among bishops themselves, between the bishops and the priests, between the bishops and the laymen,--says Father Hwang, in so many words.

Father Hwang also makes the point that the bishops' state of mind is influenced by those whom they are regularly in contact with. He explains:

"When I was assigned to the island of Paekmyong-do as the principal priest there, I was resolved to call on one poor individual each day--a resolve soon crumbled. Within a matter of days after my arrival there, I found myself meeting with only those so-called public-spirited persons on the island. As a result, my grasp of the realities facing those at the lower rungs of the community became superficial and the spiritual growth of me as a person had to suffer. In Brazil, 80 bishops finally became conscious of the realities of the land, thanks mainly to the efforts of laymen. It is said that these bishops had been constantly prodded, through those in their immediate circles, for 4 years to stop listening just to the voices of the rich and powerful and to listen also to the voices of those in other classes of the society before they began showing some signs of awareness with the realities. This need to listen to all the voices applies not to bishops alone but to everyone else--priests, laymen, and non-Catholics as well."

Some within the church are saying that it is unrealistic to expect all the bishops and the entire church to become totally aware of the realities. Father Hwang is more specific on this subject; he says:

"Historically, truth has been preserved by a handful, not by the entire religion (religionists). In the case of France, 90 percent of the people are indifferent about religious life; it is the remaining 10 percent who are exuding the Christian spirit and who are responsible for the resuscitation of the church and the society in France. In our country, too, the Catholic Church as a whole is inescapably reflective of the drift of the society; as a result, the church's total image cannot be but gloomy."

What Father Hwang is saying by extension is that one needs not despair of the minority status of those bishops and priests who hold positive views with regards to the church's involvement in secular realities, for in the end it is the truth held by a few that leads the history.

#### Signature-Collection Campaign by Priests

At any rate, diversity still marks the Catholic community of South Korea in terms of the thinkings among the bishops and in terms of the convictions and preferences of the clergy, the ascetics, and the laymen with respect to the principle and methods of the church's involvement in the secular

realities, but there has been established a common denominator among all of them in the belief that the church simply cannot afford to disregard the importance of its interaction with the society if it hopes to give concrete expression to the church's ethos. Upon conclusion of their hunger strikes, the priests launched a "signature-collection campaign in support of the constitutional reform toward direct presidential elections"; that they were able to announce on 4 May a roster of 571 priests who became the signatories was indicative of the presence of such a common denominator. Although not officially announced, the number of signatories reportedly exceeded 700 as of 15 May--this number represents 70 percent of some 1,000 priests currently in active service.

Some leading Catholic personages are expressing a sense of irritation and impatience, saying how wonderful it would be if the objectives of the church's involvement in the secular realities could be accomplished through amicable dialogues between the government and the people, obviating the need for statements, fasting, and demonstrations by the church people. This does not mean that the Catholic Church has made no attempts to establish a dialogue with the government authorities regarding the ways to resolve the problems of the secular society. It has tried, but the effort was of little avail.

Quoted below are remarks by Bishop Chi Hak-sun:

"This seldom happens these days but in the past I have had dialogues with high-level officials of the government. The same applies to Cardinal Kim. But from each such dialogue I invariably came away with a sense of regret. What is a dialogue? Is it not a means for exchange of views between two parties? But what I had with the government officials was not a dialogue; it ended with one-sided expression of views by the official who refused to give me a chance to say my piece. How can there be a productive dialogue under such circumstances? From time to time, the political counselor at the U.S. Embassy visits me to get a reading on the Catholic Church's views on the political situation and on U.S. policies. At times I find him unwelcome and unpleasant as a person, but I must admit his conversational manner is polished."

The members of the Catholic Farmers Association and the Council of Laity as well as those fasting clergymen at times find themselves in conflict with the public in general and with the internal views of the Catholic Church as a whole, but they do not consider these "stumbling blocks" as permanent obstacles to the forward movement of historical developments. Although aware that their efforts cannot produce dramatic changes to the realities, they firmly believe that they will be victorious in the course of history by their tireless proclamation of love and justice. Further, they cannot rid themselves of the sense of void arising from their yet-to-be-fulfilled conviction that all the feudings and sufferings prevalent in our society today would be so much less if only those of the political leadership could be a little more sincere and humble in front of the people.

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CSO: 4107/207

POLITICAL

SOUTH KOREA

BRIEFS

'INTER-PARTY' TALKS--Rep. Yi Man-sop, president of the minor opposition Korea National Party, yesterday asked for the immediate opening of inter-party negotiations on constitutional reform and the political timetable. During a press meeting at the KNP headquarters, he noted, "It is very regrettable that the parties have not started negotiations yet." He laid the blame for the delay in the opening of the inter-party talks on the revamping of the Ruling Democratic Justice Party leadership and the competition between Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam for presidential candidacy on an opposition camp ticket. Yi also stressed that the KNP should not be excluded from the inter-party negotiations, saying, "It will be very regrettable if the DJP and the Reunification Democratic Party try to limit the talks to themselves." He then proposed a meeting of party representatives or senior leaders early this week as a way to expedite the constitutional reform talks. He added that the presidential candidate of his party will be chosen after the revision of the Constitution and the presidential election law. [Text] [Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 19 Jul 87 p 2 SK] /12913

CSO: 4100/0291

ECONOMIC

SOUTH KOREA

UNIONISTS FORM NEW BODY FOR DEMOCRATIC OPERATION

SK140001 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 14 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] Senior members of labor unions of various industries, established a committee to put into practice democracy in labor activities at a meeting held at the Hungsdan auditorium, Sunday.

The new committee which will take the form of a consultative committee among the unions of each industry, will devote itself to the realization of democratization in the activities of labor union, according to the union leaders.

Some 112 union leaders aligned themselves to make unreserved effort for the operation of labor union in a democratic manner and revision of labor-related laws to the effect of fully reflecting the laborers' opinion.

The union leaders who attended the Sunday meeting were mainly those who earlier issued statements criticizing the attitude of the Federation of Korea Trade Union (FKTU) for having supported April 13 Presidential announcement to suspend negotiation for constitutional revision, until after Olympic Games 1988.

They also said that the draft amendment to labor-related laws worked out by the FKTU failed to fully reflect the opinion of 1 million labor union members across the nation.

The leaders said that the current leadership of the FKTU which included ruling party members are not qualified to represent the labor union members.

For democratic operation of the labor organization, the chairman of FKTU and heads of each industrial unions should be elected by direct vote, they resolved.

The union leaders also decided to hold a public hearing on the revision of the labor-related laws among the laborers as soon as possible with a view to reflecting laborers' opinion to the maximum degree in new labor laws.

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CSO: 4100/283

FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE

SOUTH KOREA

BRIEFS

BOLIVIAN VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT--Seoul, July 10 (YONHAP)--South Korean acting Prime Minister Yi Han-ki Friday met with Bolivian vice president Julio Garrett Aillon to discuss matters of mutual concern, including ways to strengthen friendly relations between Seoul and La Paz. Garrett is scheduled to visit Olympic venues in Seoul, historic sites and industrial facilities in the provinces after paying courtesy calls on President Chon Tu-hwan and National Assembly speaker Yi Chae-hyong. The Bolivian vice president arrived in Seoul Thursday afternoon for a six-day visit at the invitation of acting Prime Minister Yi. Seoul and La Paz established diplomatic ties in 1965. Bolivia has no diplomatic relations with North Korea. [Text] [Seoul YONHAP in English 2340 GMT 9 Jul 87 SK] /6662

CSO: 4100/279

POLITICAL

NORTH KOREA

NODONG SINMUN LAUDS KIM IL-SONG'S FOUNDING OF 'BOLSHEVIK'

SK091050 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1035 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Excerpts] Pyongyang, July 9 (KCNA)--NODONG SINMUN July 9 dedicates an article entitled "The First Party Organisation and Revolutionary Publication, 'Bolshevik,'" to the 57th anniversary of the founding and direction of the revolutionary publication "Bolshevik" by the great leader President Kim Il-song in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

On July 10, 1930, the revolutionary publication "Bolshevik" was founded under the far-reaching plan and energetic guidance of the great leader. It played the role of the organ of the first party organisation formed in Kalun in 1930.

"Bolshevik" honourably discharged its mission for the times and the revolution by firmly uniting Korean communists and broad revolutionary masses around the great leader and powerfully rousing them to a new road for the Korean revolution.

Our party's publications which inherit the glorious tradition of the revolutionary publications including "Bolshevik" which emerged in the flames of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle are now creditably discharging their mission and role as the party's ideological weapons in each stage of the revolutionary struggle under the tested guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and dear Comrade Kim Chong-il.

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CSO: 4100/276

POLITICAL

NORTH KOREA

DAILY ON CONSISTENCY IN PARTY POLICY

SK151059 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2133 GMT 11 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 12 July Special Article: "Consistency in Implementing the Party's Policy is the Revolutionary Habit to be Maintained by Functionaries"]

[Text] For a communist revolutionary to perform his honorable duty, he should thoroughly establish the habit of maintaining consistency in implementing the party's line and policy.

Today, we face the vast duty of further strengthening the might of the country and epochally improving the people's lives by successfully implementing the Third 7-Year Plan and accelerating major construction projects. Important for our functionaries to brilliantly carry out this honorable duty is to firmly grasp the party's policy and implement it in a consistent manner.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political bureau of the party Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, has indicated: Revolutionaries, once they begin work, should consistently push ahead to the end under any difficult circumstances.

Maintaining consistency in implementing the party's policy means that functionaries must firmly grasp and thoroughly implement their assigned tasks of the party's policy to the end without letup. For functionaries to consistently implement their assigned tasks is the important requirement of making all lines and policies presented by our party prove their worth in reality.

Our party has presented numerous lines and policies that elucidate the future path of the revolution and construction. All these lines and policies are most correct and outstanding and reflect the aspirations and demands of our people.

When we consistently grasp and implement all the lines and policies of our party, including the policy of giving priority to the extraction industry and transportation in developing the national economy and the policy of giving priority to political indoctrination work, the Taean work system, and the rural theses, the correctness of which has clearly been proven in practice of the revolution, we can achieve the prosperity of the country and provide greater happiness to the people. the problem lies in how consistently our functionaries push ahead with work to embody the party's lines and policies.

Only when functionaries vigorously push ahead with all tasks assigned by the party's policy to the end can they make the tasks demonstrate great might in reality. For functionaries to firmly maintain consistency in implementing the party's policy constitutes an important requirement for coping with the situation in which new tasks of the party's policy are presented as the revolution advances.

The revolution advances constantly forward. New tasks are presented in succession accordingly. These political tasks include not only strategic lines and policies that reflect the basic interests and long-range tasks of the revolution, but also the tasks to be carried out at present according to the demands of the developing revolution and the prevailing situation.

The revolution advances through not only the consistent struggle to implement these strategic lines and policies, but also through the struggle to implement the party's political tasks presented in every period. Therefore, functionaries are to be faced with demands to thoroughly grasp various tasks and implement them all. Of course, this is no easy job. However, only when functionaries thoroughly implement all of these tasks can they vigorously advance the revolution and construction.

Functionaries should correctly combine the strategic tasks to be grasped indefinitely with the work of implementing the presently assigned tasks and vigorously push ahead with these tasks all together. By so doing, all of the party's lines and policies can be successfully implemented even though new tasks are presented in succession.

Maintaining consistency in implementing the party's policy is precisely the method of struggle and activity that revolutionaries should follow. Revolutionaries are, by nature, vanguard fighters who devote their all to bring to flower in reality the party's intent and plans.

Those who carry out the revolution struggle to remold nature and reform society, upholding the plans and intent of their party and leader. They find great satisfaction in achieving fruition in this struggle. Therefore, the course of struggle of revolutionaries begins with the struggle to embody the party's policy and consistently continue with the struggle to firmly grasp and vigorously implement policy.

Such an attitude as to stop halfway in implement assigned party political tasks has nothing to do with the work method of revolutionaries. Revolutionaries should firmly grasp and consistently implement assigned political tasks under all difficult circumstances and conditions. Precisely herein lies the genuine path for revolutionaries to perform their duties by firmly defending the revolutionary outposts assigned by the party.

Today, our party demands that all functionaries consistently push ahead with the work of implementing the party's political tasks with high revolutionary awareness and in conformity with the demands of the developing revolution.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, has indicated: By consistently pushing ahead with the work of thoroughly implementing the great leader's teachings and the party's policy, all party organizations and party functionaries should effect great new upsurges on all fronts of socialist construction.

Maintaining the firm stand of implementing to the end the ideology and intent of the party and the leader is precisely the basic demand to maintain consistency in all tasks.

Consistency in implementing the party's policy constitutes an expression of lofty political and ideological determination of functionaries to realize the leaders's ideology and intent without fail.

For those functionaries who sincerely want to devote themselves to the party, the leader, the advance of the revolution, and the happiness of the people, there exists no such case in which the implementation of the party's policy is stopped halfway before it bear proud fruit.

The problem of consistency is precisely the problem of the important ideological stand and posture directly related to the attitude of loyalty to the party and the leader and devoted services for the people.

The course of faithful and devoted functionaries' work and activity is consistent with the firm and thorough posture of receiving the leader's ideology and intent 100 percent and implementing them 100 percent under all circumstances.

Dominating the spiritual world of these functionaries is precisely to consistently advance the revolution and thus perform duties as revolutionary fighters by consistently implementing the party's line and policy. Consistency in implementing the line and policy presented by the party is closely related to the attitude of functionaries in which they carry out their assigned tasks without knowing the slightest degree of self-admiration and satisfaction.

Those functionaries who have consistent work habits in implementing the party's policy are not satisfied with the success attained over the course of implementing their tasks, but constantly think and energetically struggle with firm and single-hearted determination to more properly implement the party's political tasks.

Life has shown that only those functionaries who always have a faithful and sincere attitude in implementing the party's policy can carry out their assigned revolutionary duties to the end without knowing slackness or stalemate.

For revolutionaries, a steady and persistent work attitude is more precious than a monetary heroic act or exploit. Possessing strong and tough revolutionary will and stubborn struggle habits is an important requirement for functionaries to energetically and persistently push ahead with all tasks.

Consistency, by nature, is closely related to the problem of overcoming the difficulties that arise over the course of the advance of the revolution. Only those functionaries who have strong and tough will and stubborn fighting spirit can push ahead with their work to implement the party's policy to the end without letup.

Therefore, our functionaries should have such fighting spirit and tough will as to jump into water and fire in the struggle to implement the party's line and policy. By so doing, they can become genuine functionaries who persistently push ahead with their work to the end under all difficult circumstances.

Possessing correct principles and methods in developing and pushing ahead with work is an important requirement for our functionaries to maintain consistency in implementing the party's policy. To smoothly carry out the constantly presented various tasks, skillful methodology, and techniques are required. In other words, when one possesses a skillful method of pushing ahead with work, he can implement his assigned task to the end by effectively utilizing given conditions and potential.

Therefore, whatever party political tasks they may implement, functionaries should deeply analyze inevitable relations with these party's political tasks in a scientific manner, establish a correct methodology in conformity with this, and firmly grasp and develop the work. This is very important.

For functionaries to push ahead with newly presented tasks to the end without letup, it is necessary to correctly select the priority of work and carry out the tasks one by one while concentrating great efforts on them.

All work that arises in implementing the party's policy is closely linked. In other words, once one task is carried out, other work can be easily resolved. therefore, functionaries should correctly discover knotty and cardinal factors based on correct analysis of the party's demands, given conditions, and their own capabilities and concentrate all efforts on resolving these knotty and cardinal factors. It is also important for functionaries to demonstrate the revolutionary struggle habit of completely and perfectly carrying out tasks one by one with firm resolve.

Functionaries should posses the driving force of firmly grasping the overall aspects of the work and pushing ahead with it in a simultaneous manner while concentrating efforts on the knotty and cardinal work first. Those functionaries who cannot only properly carry out pressing tasks in the fields of production and construction, but also firmly grasp overall work at the same time, are precisely the functionaries with consistency and the driving force our party wants. Today, our revolution is advancing at a rapid speed. When our functionaries highly demonstrate consistent work habits in implementing the party's line and policy, greater success will be attained in the revolution and construction.

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CSO: 4110/0212

## DAILY STRESSES CHUCHE INDOCTRINATION

SK180336 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2132 GMT 15 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 16 July Editorial: "Let Us Effect a New Turn in Indoctrination in the Chuche Idea Upholding the Party's Ideology and Theory"]

[Text] The chuche idea is the ever-victorious banner for most correctly leading our revolution and construction. Our revolution is constantly deepening and developing and the vast task assigned to us demands that party members and the working people more firmly than every arm themselves with the chuche idea.

At such a rewarding time, when the cause of modelling the whole of society after the chuche idea is being vigorously accelerated following the leadership of our party, we greet the first anniversary of the publication of the document of Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the party Central committee Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, entitled "On Some Problems of Education in the Chuche Idea."

It is a revolutionary document that gives scientific answers to all theoretical and practical problems that arise in indoctrination in the chuche idea. The document encourages our party members and the working people to have boundless dignity and honor in carrying out the revolution following the great guiding ideology.

In the document, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il has not only inculcated anew the principles of the chuche idea based on his profound analysis of the present situation of our party's ideological indoctrination work and the demands of our developing revolution, but has also provided a programmatic guideline to further strengthen indoctrination in the chuche idea.

The document has profoundly elucidated the greatness and correctness of the chuche idea and has developed and enriched its principles. Therefore, it is a programmatic document that party members and the working people must take as their basic guideline in firmly arming themselves with the chuche idea.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the party Central committee Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, has indicated: Today, firmly arming party members and the working people with the chuche idea is an important task of vital significance to our party.

The document, "On Some Problems of Education in the Chuche Idea" is precisely the guiding principle to effect a new turn in our party's ideological indoctrination work.

Ideological indoctrination work is an important duty of the party of the working class in carrying out socialist and communist construction. Our revolution and construction, which are developing onto a new higher stage, demands that ideological indoctrination work be further strengthened.

In the document, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il has taught that indoctrination in the chuche idea should be firmly grasped as indoctrination in the unitary idea of your party and that all forms of ideological indoctrination should be conducted in close combination with the principles of the chuche idea. The document inculcates specific tasks and methods in strengthening indoctrination in chuche idea based on the profound analysis of the essential importance of indoctrination in the chuche idea.

With the elucidation of all the forms of ideological indoctrination work of our party being indoctrination in the chuche idea, it has been possible to conduct ideological indoctrination work based on the principles of chuche and on a new high stage and to make the entire party and the whole of society further overflow with the chuche idea. This is an epochal occasion that makes it possible to effect a new turn in the ideological indoctrination work of our party.

The dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's document is an infinitely precious document that has further deepened and developed the principles of the chuche idea and enriched the idea with new principles.

The system and content of the document are consistent in proving the correctness and greatness of the chuche idea, the revolutionary theory that elucidates the way to liberate human beings in a scientific manner. The document makes clear that the philosophical world outlook of chuche is the perfect scientific world outlook which includes the principles that elucidate the general characteristics of the world, the essential characteristics of human beings, and the position and role of human beings in the world. Thus, the position of the philosophical world outlook of chuche in development of the revolutionary ideology of the working class and its incomparably great significance have been clearly elucidated and, at the same time, the fact that the philosophical world outlook of chuche is precisely the revolutionary world outlook that most correctly elucidates the path of pioneering the destiny of human beings has been profoundly proven.

Along with this, the document elucidates that the chuche idea has become the great guiding ideology of the revolution of our time by teaching the most perfect revolutionary theory, strategy, tactics, and ways of leadership necessary to liberate mankind. The document has also regulated the main body of the revolution as the united body of the leader, the party, and the masses. The chuche-oriented principles of social and political life have been also profoundly elucidated in the document.

In particular, the document has not only elucidated anew the collectivist view of life that the life of social and political groups is the parent body of individual life, but has also elucidated new principles of the revolutionary view of the leader and the revolutionary view of life based on the collectivist view of life.

The document, by establishing the chuche-oriented view of the world, makes it possible for the people to deeply master the superiority of the socialist system, with men as the center, and to fully enhance and demonstrate the might of the socialist system in conformity with its inherent demands.

The document's ideological and theoretical achievements, which prove that the historic position of the chuche idea forms a new stage in developing the advanced ideology of mankind and enriching the chuche idea with new scientific and theoretical discoveries, are of basic significance in carrying out the cause of independence and are indeed great.

Thanks to this document, which has developed an enriched the chuche idea with numerous scientific theses and [passage indistinct], the driving force of the chuche idea and its significance have become greater.

The document has embodied our party's firm and invariable will to resolutely safeguard and defend the chuche idea as the guiding ideology of the revolution and construction of our time. thus, the document, together with the document, "On the Chuche Idea," brilliantly shines as a monumental document that not only had extraordinarily enriched the treasure chest of the chuche idea, but has also pioneered a new path for development of revolutionary ideology of the working class.

The document, "On Some Problems of Education in the Chuche IDEa," has great theoretical and practical significance in the development of our party and the revolution.

The document has clearly proven that the great chuche idea is a revolutionary theory that elucidates the way to liberate mankind most scientifically. Thus, the document makes it possible for the masses of the people to vigorously accelerated the cause of independence, taking the chuche idea as their only guiding principle.

The chuche idea is an outlook on the world, with men as the center. The basic duty of the philosophical world outlook is to elucidate the path for pioneering the destiny of human beings.

The basic characteristics of the chuche-oriented philosophical world outlook and its incomparable superiority are that the chuche-oriented philosophical world outlook scientifically indicates the basic way to determine the destiny of human beings based on its philosophical principles of elucidating the world position and role of human beings.

The ideologies and theories inculcated in the document provide a strong ideological and theoretical weapon that makes it possible for the masses of

the people to live and struggle according to the demands of the chuche idea, with firm faith that they can brilliantly pioneer the future path of the revolution of our time only with the chuche idea.

The document has also clearly given a unique explanation to the main body of the revolution rallied around the leader. Thus, the document has elucidated the principle that makes it possible to firmly establish the revolutionary view of the leader and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the leader, the party, and the masses.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central committee, has indicated: Most important in the indoctrination in the chuche idea is for party members and the working people to establish a revolutionary view of the leader with a correct understanding of the main body of the revolution.

The chuche idea has clearly elucidated all revolutionary principles, with the masses of the people as the center. The document has elucidated anew the principle that the masses of the people are the main body of history, with the leaders as the center. This constitutes epochal progress in developing the chuche principles.

The document has made it possible to firmly establish the revolutionary view of the leader by clearly elucidating the principle that when the masses of the people are rallied under the party and the leader organizationally and ideologically, with the leader as center, they can form an eternal independent body of life.

It is truly of great significance to developing the chuche ideology and theory and in carrying out the chaju cause that the work has clarified anew the social living body, the position and role of the leader, and the principle of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship. The work clarifies that loyalty to the leader, loyalty to the party, and loyalty to the people are united as one, since the leader, the party, and the masses must be united to form an everlasting social living body, and clarifies that loyalty to the leader is the foremost expression of party-mindedness, working class-mindedness, and people-mindedness and that cherishing it as the life of prime importance is the basic trait of chuche-type revolutionaries. The work, therefore, is noble ideological and spiritual food that enables the people to be firmly brought up as genuine chuche-type communist revolutionaries who cherish the revolutionary outlook on the leader and in sharing life, death, and destiny with the leader, the party, the masses--the parent body of their lives.

The great significance of this work lies in clarifying to party members and workers that only when they are firmly united around the party and the leader with revolutionary fidelity and comradeship and devote themselves to the common cause of realizing chajusong, can they add luster to their noble social and political lives and enjoy man's true rewarding life and happiness.

The work also enables our people to make the chuche idea their firm guiding policy, to thoroughly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system of

our country, and to firmly and faithfully resolve to wage a vigorous struggle to complete the socialist and communist cause.

The work clearly elucidates that the chuche idea is the only precise guiding ideology of our party and revolution, and theoretically clarifies that this has universality and truthfulness in the revolution and construction of our times.

The chuche world outlook, which considers man to be in the center, teaches that highly demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system that embodies the chuche idea is the way to brilliantly pioneer and popular masses' destiny.

The natural demand of the popular masses to enjoy independent and creative lives can be realized only by solidifying and developing the socialist system. The fundamental policy to realizing the prosperity of our country and the nation on the road of socialism cannot be any other ideology than the chuche idea.

Carrying out the revolution with the chuche idea is the great pride of our people. The work encourages our people to have a greater sense of justness and faith in victory for their cause by advancing under the banner of the chuche idea, and enables them to firmly determine to accelerate the revolution and construction, always cherishing the chuche idea as a mighty ideological weapon.

The work "On some Problem of Education in the Chuche Idea" is the shining fruition of the outstanding ideological and theoretical activity of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il. A great ideology and theory is created, developed, and enriched by the outstanding ideological and theoretical activity of a leader [yongdoja]. The chuche idea founded by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is today continuously deepened and developed by our party. By conducting profound and original ideological and theoretical activities, our party has put forward a new chuche ideology and many new theories and principles and is inheriting and developing the chuche idea in a brilliant manner. The work is clear proof of the outstanding nature of the ideological and theoretical activities of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, who has led our revolutionary cause on the road to victory.

It is an immortal work that only a great ideologist and theoretician and a true leader of the people can write. The work states, clearly and plainly for everyone to easily understand, the difficult and important problems that arise philosophically in perceiving the chuche idea. This is an important characteristic of work that has profound philosophical content. The work makes it possible for everyone to deeply learn and embody the profound content and principles contained therein.

Truly, the work "On Some Problems of education in the Chuche Idea" is the encyclopedia that integrates the principles of the chuche idea and a valuable textbook of the chuche idea that all party members and workers should deeply study and learn.

Studying and learning the work continuously and thoroughly embodying the task set forth by the work is the important task set for party organizations, functionaries and workers. Party organizations at all levels should continuously and thoroughly embody the ideology set forth by the work and deepen and develop our party's ideological indoctrination work at a high level to allow them to bring about a new revolutionary upturn.

Above all, they should effectively conduct study to firmly arm themselves with the chuche ideology and theory elucidated anew in the work. The basis of learning the work is to deeply learn the ideology contained in the original text. The party members and workers should deeply study each phrase and clause of the work and completely comprehend its contents.

To effectively conduct the learning of the work, party organizations should organize the learning in various forms and methods to suit it to the characteristics and degree of preparation of the students. Party organizations of each level should extensively organize the learning of the work in various forms and methods, including lectures and debates, to suit the reality of their sectors and units.

In conducting the learning of the work, they should study and learn the specific methods to embody in reality the principles and methods set forth in the work, while emphasizing deeply grasping the profound ideological and theoretical contents. The party organizations should also ensure that learning the work brings an upturn in our party's ideological indoctrination work and contributes to firmly preparing party members and workers to be genuine chuche-type communist revolutionaries who know only our party's chuche idea.

As set forth in the work, all ideological indoctrination work conducted by our party is intended to contribute to strengthening the revolutionary ranks under the chuche banner and enhancing the popular masses' independence and creative role. Therefore, we should conduct all forms of ideological indoctrination work, including loyalty indoctrination, in combination with the basic principles of the chuche idea.

Party organizations at all levels should conduct class indoctrination and socialist patriotism indoctrination in such a way as to contribute to strengthening the main body [chuche] of the revolution. They should conduct revolutionary tradition indoctrination and party policy indoctrination based on the basic principles of the chuche idea. In this way, they should actively improve the contents and methods of our party's ideological indoctrination work so that it can be carried out consistently as chuche idea indoctrination to strengthen the main body of the revolution and fully enhance its role.

Party organizations should also wage an active struggle to embody the ideology and theory set forth in the work in carrying out our revolution.

The fundamental spirit consistent in the work is that when our people advance under the banner of the chuche idea, their destiny can be pioneered brilliantly, and the revolutionary struggle and construction work can be ever-victorious.

All party members and workers should more firmly cherish pride in carrying out the revolution with the great guiding ideology, and carry on their struggle, making this their guiding policy in their work and their lives. At the same time, with firm faith that they do not know any other ideology than the chuche idea, they should solve all problems that arise in the revolution and construction based thoroughly on the chuche idea.

Party members and workers should deeply study and learn the ideology and theory set forth in the work, and firmly prepare themselves to be genuine chuche-type communist revolutionaries with the revolutionary outlook on the leader firmly established in them.

The party organizations should conduct the chuche idea indoctrination work among party members and workers in combination with revolutionary practice so that they can highly demonstrate the spirit of absolutely and thoroughly implementing the will and idea of the party and the leader. At the same time they should ensure that the party members and workers cherish high national pride in being led by the great party and leader and wage a devoted struggle to more highly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system of our country.

Adhering to the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's work "On Some Problems of Education in the Chuche Idea" and carrying out our revolutionary cause toward perfection under the chuche banner is the great joy and pride of our party and people. All party members and workers should more deeply cherish pride in having the great leader and in carrying out the revolution and wage a daring struggle to complete the revolutionary cause to the end under the banner of the chuche idea.

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CSO: 4110/0212

NORTH KOREA

MILITARY

COMMENTARY ON STAND FOR NUCLEAR-FREE KOREA

SK160409 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1150 GMT 14 Jul 87

[Commentary by station commentator Chong Pong-kil: "A Clear Expression of a Peace-loving Stand"]

[Text] The DPRK Ministry of foreign Affairs on 13 July issued a statement on the Government of the Republic's stand on practical measures to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone on the Korean peninsula and firmly ensure its position.

Pointing out that the danger of nuclear war on the korean peninsula is increasing with the passage of time, contrary to the common desire and aspiration of mankind to build a peaceful world, the statement clarified at home and abroad the government of the republic's stand on the four-clause practical measures designed to establish a nuclear-free, peace zone and firmly ensure its position.

The statement noted: The U.S. Government must take practical measures to commit themselves to halt the introduction into South Korea of new nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery, completely withdraw the nuclear weapons already introduced, and cancel all operational plans related to the use of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula.

The Japanese Government must prevent its territory from being used as a nuclear sortie base, relay base, and supply base of other countries against the Korean peninsula. All countries that possess nuclear weapons must stop all military actions that may cause a nuclear war in and around the Korean peninsula and refrain from threatening the Korean peninsula with nuclear weapons.

The South korean authorities must withdraw from their area nuclear weapons, the means of their delivery, and all military bases of other countries, including nuclear bases; must refrain from the introduction and storage of nuclear weapons and their development and possession; and must not allow other countries' nuclear weapons to pass through their territory [chiyok] in the future. These are just proposals clearly reflecting the consistent efforts and constant stand of the government of our republic designed to remove the danger of nuclear war at all costs and, by turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, to guarantee the peace and security of the globe.

Turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone is directly linked with peace and security of the world as well as those of our country and is an acute problem to be immediately resolved. However, this urgent task faces a grave obstacle because it is the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets who are directly responsible for removing the danger of nuclear war from the Korean peninsula.

Declaring South Korea a forefront of their strategy and openly raving about their willingness to use nuclear weapons in an emergency, the U.S. imperialists, who are seeking a wild ambition to achieve world supremacy with nuclear weapons, have systematically introduced nuclear weapons into South Korea and thus have turned it into the largest nuclear advance base in the Far East--a base where over 1,000 pieces of various types of nuclear weapons are deployed. It is no longer a secret that nuclear storage bases are under construction in many places of South Korea and that nuclear-laden aircraft and nuclear-armed warships are entering and departing it at all times.

Furthermore, the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan ring, who have already mapped out a nuclear attack plan against the northern half of the republic, are stepping up the final stage of nuclear war preparations. This is proven by the fact that during the joint "Team Spirit-87" military exercise, a test nuclear war and preliminary war, even "E-4b" nuclear command aircraft, known as the Airborne U.S. Nuclear War command, was mobilized.

Meanwhile, the Japanese reactionaries are also actively taking part in the U.S. imperialists' nuclear war maneuvers by allowing their territory to be used as a nuclear sorties base, relay base, and supply base of the U.S. imperialists.

All facts show that the danger of nuclear war has become a reality and that a nuclear war may break out at any moment on the Korean peninsula by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. If a nuclear war breaks out on the Korean peninsula, it will easily expand into a global thermonuclear war and, if so, mankind will suffer an irrevocable nuclear holocaust.

In this context, the government of the republic in its statement dated 23 June last year declared at home and abroad that, in order to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, it would refrain from the testing, production, storage, and introduction of nuclear weapons; not allow the establishment of any foreign military bases; and not allow the passage of foreign nuclear weapons through its territory.

This proposal, designed to make the Korean peninsula, which has become one of the most dangerous places of nuclear war, a nuclear-free, peace-zone, has aroused active support and sympathy among the governments and the peoples of many countries.

Our Foreign Ministry's issuance of the statement this time on the Government of the Republic's stand on practical measures to establish a nuclear-free peace zone on the Korean peninsula and firmly ensure its position is a clear

expression of the sincere efforts and the peace-loving stand of our people and the government of the republic to guarantee peace and security of Asia and the world by eradicating the danger of nuclear war and turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

The U.S. and Japanese Governments, if they truly want peace and security on the Korean peninsula, must take practical measures at an early date after responding to our peace-loving proposal.

The South Korean authorities must also respond to our proposal after giving up their indiscriminate scheme of inflicting the holocaust of nuclear war on the same race by following the masters' nuclear war maneuvers.

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CSO: 4110/0214

ECONOMIC

NORTH KOREA

RESOLUTION TO FULFILL 3RD 7-YEAR REPORTED

SK131008 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1000 GMT 13 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 13 Jul (KCNA)--Employees of the Kwanghae Iron and Steel Complex, the West Pyongyang Locomotive Corps and the Pyongyang Textile Combine held meetings respectively on July 9 and 10 to renew their determination to fulfill the third 7-year plan ahead of schedule.

The reporters and speakers at the meetings evinced their determination to attain the vast targets of the third 7-year plan one year and a half ahead of schedule, wholeheartedly upholding the congratulatory letter of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to the meeting of general mobilization to carry out the third 7-year plan held some time ago and responding to the appeal of the meeting to the workers, technicians and office workers of the country.

The workers of the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex expressed their resolve to press ahead the project of increasing the production capacity of iron and steel and intensify the technical innovation movement and the drive for the increased production and economization in the period of the new long-term plan so as to increase the production of pig iron 1.9 times, steel 2 times and rolled steel 1.8 times as against 1986's.

The employees of the West Pyongyang Locomotive Corps said that they would rapidly increase the transportation capacity by markedly boosting the traction load of the railway transport through the powerful "drive for extra-haulage on schedule without accident to implement the decision of the 18th plenary meeting of the fifth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea" initiated by dear Comrade Kim Chong-il and introducing automation and robotization in the repair of locomotives.

At the employees meeting held at the Pyongyang Textile Combine, speakers said: "We will continue to powerfully strive for the revolution in the light industry and thereby hit the target of the 1,500 million meters of fabrics ahead of schedule and fully solve the clothing problem for the people."

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CSO: 4100/287

## DAILY ON SIGNIFICANCE OF SHIP TRANSPORT

SK160158 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2139 GMT 12 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 13 July editorial: "Let Us Further Develop Ship Transport"]

[Text] Solving the transport problem properly is one of the most important tasks facing us today. Only when the transport problem is properly solved can the overall people's economy be developed rapidly and the Third 7-Year Plan be fulfilled more than 1 and 1/2 years ahead of schedule.

In order to solve the transport problem properly, in addition to the great emphasis on developing railway transport, ship transport should be developed even more broadly.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: In our country, three sides of which are surrounded by sea, it is very important that we develop maritime transport in order to solve the strained transport problem and develop foreign trade.

The three sides of our country are surrounded by the sea. At the same time, our country has many large and small rivers. With these conditions, if we develop ship transport broadly by utilizing the seas and rivers, the transport problem can be solved even more properly.

Of course, our country has a developed railway network which plays the greatest role in transport. Still, the railway sector alone cannot fully overcome the strained transport situation.

Seeking the second best is our party's unchanging demand. Since long ago, along with emphasis on the railway transport, our party has strengthened the vessel-vehicle joint transport system, thereby meeting the transport demand properly. This is a brilliant fruition of our party's joint transport policy.

However, the rapidly developing reality demands that ship transport be developed even more broadly, along with railway and vehicle transport.

Developing ship transport is good for many reasons. Above all, it lessens the burdens of the railway sector by guaranteeing domestic and overseas transport demands with less money. At the same time, along with the development of railway transport capacities, developing ship transport will guarantee the

transport work under all circumstances and stabilize production at plants and enterprises. During the Third 7-Year Plan, while making the most of existing production capacities, we will carry out many production-oriented construction projects. Accordingly, transport demand will increase everywhere. no matter what the degree of investment in the railway sector and no matter what the extent of laying heavy-duty tracks and laying double railway lines, the railway sector alone is unable to properly meet the rapidly growing transport demand of the people's economy.

Along with railway and vehicle transport, only when ship transport is developed rapidly can coal, timber, cement, salt, and other materials be transported more rapidly.

In developing ship transport, it is most important that functionaries struggle persistently with positive and unconditional spirit toward the party policy.

At the plenary meetings of the party Central Committee and at many other meetings, our party fully elucidated the task of developing ship transport, along with railway transport, and the ways and methods to accomplish it.

If functionaries, with correct view and attitudes toward ship transport, display the positive and unconditional spirit in implementing party policy and adhere to the organizational work to implement it, innovations can be effected in the work to develop ship transport.

Functionaries must adopt a stand to always implement party policy thoroughly. They must set high ship transport goals and establish a spirit to attain them without fail.

It is important to work out thorough measures to increase ship transport through the seas. Not only overseas transport work, but also domestic transport work can be conducted broadly by sea.

Most large plants and enterprises are situated near the sea. Therefore, if goods coming from foreign countries, goods going to foreign countries, and goods to be transported from the east coast to the west coast or vice versa are transported through via sea, the strained situation of the railway can be greatly alleviated.

The Transportation Committee should enhance the roles and responsibility of functionaries of the General bureau of Maritime Transportation. It should conclude correct contracts with plants and enterprises. By so doing, it should actively transport coal, steel, materials, ore concentrate, timber, and other materials through the seas.

Prospective measures should also be worked out to increase ship transport through rivers as well. in particular, ship transport should be broadly developed through the Taedong River. The Sohae Lockgate, the Mirim Lockgate, the Ponghwa Lockgate, the Sungchon Lockgate, and Sunchon Lockgate have been built on the Taedong River. Under these circumstances, if navigation

routes are improved by dredging river beds, even large vessels will be able to easily come up as far as Sunchon, and the transport of coal, cement, and other materials can be increased.

To allow large cargo ships to travel along the Taedong River, functionaries concerned should more properly conduct the work to improve the river navigation routes and maintain the proper water level of the lockgates.

In order to develop ship transport broadly, it is now most important to build many cargo ships, particularly large cargo ships. Like laying heavy-duty tracks for the railway sector, only through the introduction of large cargo ships can oil and manpower be economized and cargo transport be increased. Using large ships is economical for long-distance ship transport in particular. Therefore, building large cargo ships is now the most important task of the ship-building industry.

Through close coordination with other concerned sectors, the ship-building industry should specifically link the number of large cargo ships to be built and the ship-building schedules. It should give priority to making preparations for ship-building.

The functionaries and working people of the ship-building industry, by upholding the party's demand for building many 40,000- or 50,000-ton large cargo ships and by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, should effect a new turn in building cargo ships.

In carrying out ship-building work properly, it is important to enhance the roles of the related sectors and units. Only when the related sectors supply steel materials, engineers, and other facilities and materials responsibly and in a timely manner can the boosted zeal of the working people of the ship-building industry bear shining fruit.

The Metal and Machine Industry Committee and other concerned sectors should work out thorough measures to swiftly and properly supply steel plates, exhaust pipes, other types of pipes, and automation elements and devices.

Among the masses, all-level party organizations and the three-revolution teams of the ship-building industry and other related sectors should deeply explain and infiltrate the party's demand for even more broadly developing the ship transport by building large cargo ships. They should vigorously encourage the masses to new innovations. By so doing, they should effect a great turn in building cargo ships.

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CSO: 4110/0213

ECONOMIC

NORTH KOREA

OUTPUT OF DPRK SILICATE BRICK PLANTS NOTED

SK081053 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1046 GMT 8 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang July 8 (KCNA)--The Anju, Hamhung and Pihyon silicate brick factories of Korea are paying off profusely. These factories have an aggregate annual capacity of one billion bricks, which are enough to build three- or four-room flats for 40,000 or 50,000 families.

They were completed in a short time of two years. Their scale is gigantic. The Anju silicate brick factory extends more than 70,000 square metres in total floor space and nearly 300,000 square metres in plottage. Large factories of this category are found in Pihyon and Hamhung, too.

All the production processes from raw material feeding to moulding and pressing are mechanized and automated to be streamlined. When some mixtures are added, the silicate bricks take on various colors to make the color tones of the buildings diversified. Hardness being 2.5 times the ordinary bricks, many-storied apartment houses can be built with 30 percent less steel and cement and the construction speed be nearly trebled. The production processes of the brick are simple and its production prospect is fairly vast, its raw material being sand and limestone found abundantly in the country.

Dear Comrade Kim Chong-il set out a plan for the complete solution of the housing problem for our people in a few years and took steps for the construction of silicate brick production bases in Anju, Pihyon and Hamhung districts which have favorable raw material and fuel conditions and set their production capacity. In spring last year when the construction of the factories were near completion he examined the designs of the village-style and urban-style dwelling houses to be built with silicate bricks and led their extensive construction in all places. Many silicate brick houses, with a flat for each family occupying 120 square metres in floor space, are now cropping up in large numbers on the outskirts of the capital and local cities and villages.

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CSO: 4100/275

## STRONGER EFFORTS IN TECHNOLOGY, CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION URGED

Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 6 May 87 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] At present, our people and KPA soldiers, in an alert and mobilized posture, are strongly accelerating important capital construction in order to realize the far-reaching plan developed by the party and leader. In vigorously building up the creation of a long-range plan, which is being carried out on an unprecedented scale, one of the important questions in accelerating all the more strongly the mammoth construction works is to develop positively and boldly the technical innovation movement at construction sites.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught:

"Without swift development of science and technology and bold and positive technical innovation, we cannot carry out the large tasks of the new long-range plan, we will be unable to raise the people's economics to a higher stage." ("For the Complete Victory of Socialism," single edition, p. 17)

Important capital construction, including cultivation of reclaimed tide-lands, construction at the Sunch'on vinalon complex, construction along Kwangbok Street, and construction at the T'aech'on power station, are great and effective tasks to be carried out according to our party's plan. Important capital construction, being carried out under our party's plan and leadership, will strengthen the country's economic power, and in particular, as things which will settle satisfactorily the question of the people's livelihood, are tasks which are not only mammoth in construction amount, but ones which must be completed in the shortest possible time.

If we are to complete this unprecedently mammoth construction in a short time, we must widen extensively the technical innovation movement, together with correctly organizing and guaranteeing construction strength. Technical innovation gives the unlimited possibility of being able to accelerate construction on a mass basis in accordance with the demands of speed battle. The one method which is most effective in settling all the various problems which arise in construction, including labor problems, materials problems, and construction method problems, is technical innovation. What we were able to complete in the short period of five years

on the West Sea Lockgate, which encompasses 20 li of the sea, was related to the bolstering of scientific and technical results.

Our party is now demanding that we guarantee the highest levels of speed and quality by adopting wholesale new technical innovation results in important capital construction, just as in the construction of the West Sea Lockgate. The sectors of important capital construction must see that the plan of the party and the great leader bears shining fruit at the earliest possible date by widening boldly and positively the technical innovation movement in accordance with the demands of the party.

If this is to be done, more than anything else, it is important that the party organization and functionaries in this sector adhere to the tasks of technical innovation and push ahead positively on them.

Experience shows that in places where the party organization and functionaries have a deep concern for technical innovation and move the masses correctly, the fires of technical innovation burn fiercely and miraculous results come about.

The party organization and functionaries of sectors and units entrusted with important capital construction must conduct themselves with the goal in mind of struggling to accelerate important capital construction by bold and positive technical innovation in accordance with the demands of the party.

The important thing in adhering to and pushing ahead on technical innovation work is to get construction workers to take a broad interest in technical innovation and to participate positively in it.

The wisdom and strength of the masses is infinite. There are not problems which cannot be solved with the masses working on them. Our party has always advanced victoriously in solving all problems which arise in revolution and construction via the method of mobilizing the masses and relying on their strength and wisdom.

The party organization and functionaries, to widen strongly the mass technical innovation movement among the construction masses, must thoroughly explain the party's purposes and the party's policy on science and technology and get all to participate consciously and concretely in technical innovation. Furthermore, they must get each construction site seething in an atmosphere of technical innovation by nurturing the small seedlings of technical innovation which arise among the masses, backing innovators, and doing well the work of adopting the results of technical innovation to construction.

We will be able to innovate in technology if everyone is determined and sticks together. All construction workers must have faith that if they just work hard, they will be able to be inventors and master creators and designers, and must strive unflaggingly to innovate in technology of more than one type.

If we are to innovate, we must have boldness and patience. The West Sea Lockgate is a result obtained in a process in which construction workers conceived boldly and practiced boldly with the courage the party bestowed in originating and introducing new construction methods of our style. Workers at important capital construction must innovate in technology without ceasing in daring conception, positive proposals, and bold practice.

There will be repeated failure and some difficulties in the process of technical innovation. But saying this is so, there is still no occasion in the revolutionary work attitude for quaking or halfway measures. All construction workers must keep on to the finish by having the faith and patience to do some technical innovation and progress unflaggingly.

The important problem in increasing the introduction of technical innovation results in areas of important capital construction is strengthening creative cooperation among workers, scientists, and technicians.

Strengthening creative cooperation among workers, scientists, and technicians is our party's consistent policy and a strong method for expediting technical revolution. The good thoughts of construction workers who have experience in the labor process will only have to be combined correctly with science and technology and we will be able to obtain great results in technical innovation.

Now, upholding the party's call, many scientists and technicians are going to the sites of important capital construction and widening the combat to solve scientific and technical problems which arise on site. This is a good thing. However, if this activity is to have the correct material result, a still higher level of creative cooperation with the construction workers must be realized.

Workers, scientists, and technicians at important capital construction sites must learn from and teach each other open-mindedly and must innovate without ceasing in technology by exhibiting highly the cooperative spirit of combining their creative wisdom and strength.

All functionaries and laborers who participate in important capital construction must accelerate strongly the important capital construction by widening strongly everywhere the "Speed of the 80's" creative movement, raising still higher the flames of the mass technical innovation movement.

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CSO: 4110/150

## VNS COMMENTARY ON CHON'S CONSTITUTION DAY MESSAGE

SK191125 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0200 GMT 18 Jul 87

## [Station commentary]

[Text] In this hour of station commentary, I will talk about traitor Chon Tu-hwan's so-called views on constitutional revision.

As has already been reported, in his speech read by Kim Chong-yol at a ceremony held to mark the 39th anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution of 17 July, puppet Chon Tu-hwan made public his opinion concerning constitutional revision. In the speech he emphatically tried to make the current fascist Constitution, the so-called Constitution of the Fifth Republic, appear to reflect national ideals, democratic welfare, and ideals of justice welfare. He also tried to make the current Constitution appear to have been written according to due democratic procedures. What is it but brazen-faced sophistry.?

As is widely known, the current fascist Constitution, the so-called Constitution of the Fifth Republic, is nothing but one form of the mans of violence the Chon Tu-hwan group arbitrarily instituted with security of power as the priority concern, thereby having nothing to do with the people's yearning for democratization.

In other words, what was fabricated even before the blood dried on the bayonet used to kill thousands of Kwangju citizens who called for an end to the pro-U.S. military dictatorship and for a democratic society following the 10 October incident, in a murderous atmosphere in which the people's mouth are gagged, their eyes blindfolded, and ears plugged by the imposition of martial law is the fascist Constitution currently in force.

The current fascist Constitution, which was put into practice after it was fabricated going through the formal acts in this manner, is the mother of such fascist evil laws as the current antinational, antidemocratic, and antimass National Security Law, labor-related laws, the basic press law, and laws governing assembly and demonstration. It is used not as a shield of justice to protect the fundamental rights of the people, but as an instrument to trample underfoot, and deprive the people of, their basic rights.

Nevertheless, the traitor tries to paint the current fascist Constitution as a democratic Constitution drawn up in a democratic way according to public opinion. What brazen-faced sophistry! What should not be overlooked is that traitor Chon Tu-hwan said this and that about constitutional revision.

Babbling that constitutional revision alone will not realize everything or babbling that it must be remembered as a lesson that the agitation and the extreme form of confrontation over constitutional revision had divided the people and generated social chaos and even undermined the national security, the traitor urged the people to exercise self-restraint.

Such remarks and acts by the traitor Chon tu-hwan is an intolerable challenge to our people who call for the abolition of the current fascist Constitution and framing of a democratic Constitution. As is widely known, during the June resistance our people shouted the slogan "Let us drive out the corrupt military dictatorship by a direct popular election." This was in no sense a mere cry for the abolition of the method of elections, the indirect elections system. It was a roaring cry for the complete liquidation of the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u fascist dictatorial system as well as for the complete abolition of the current fascist Constitution. It was also an expression of the renewed firm will committed to framing a truly democratic Constitution and to instituting truly democratic politics. In other words, what they called for through the slogan was not the mere change of the methods of elections in name only, but the institution of a true political system fully reflecting the public will and a democratic election system.

This notwithstanding, traitor Chon Tu-hwan openly challenged our people's demands. It shows that the ring has no intention of revising the Constitution, and that if it had any, it would not go beyond the line of changing the current presidential election system from the current direct form into direct one alone and no more. It also has laid bare its attempt to subject the people once again to bloody suppression under the pretext of maintaining constitutional order and national security.

However, this is nothing but a foolish daydream. Our people, who have concluded through their experience that unless the current fascist Constitution and the military dictatorship currently in power are not removed, it is impossible to regain the people's deprived basic rights, will never put down the banner of struggle until they drive the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring out of power by revising the current fascist Constitution and instituting a democratic one.

/12232  
CSO: 4110/0211

## PYONGYANG RALLY DENOUNCES USE OF TEAR GAS IN SOUTH

SK110545 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0530 GMT 11 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang Jul 11 (KCNA)--Workers in Pyongyang held a meeting on July 10 to strongly denounce with burning national indignation that the U.S. imperialists and their stooge, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group, for their crime in brutally murdering with tear gas shells students and people who have risen in the just patriotic struggle against the long-term office scheme of the South Korean puppet clique and for independence against U.S. imperialism and for the democratisation of society.

Vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions Yon Tok-san addressed the meeting.

He said: The June popular resistance of patriotic students including students of Yonsei University Yi Han-yol and people was a great demonstration of their iron will and faith to realise freedom of campus and the democratisation of society against fascism and dictatorship. It was also an entirely just struggle to put an end to the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists, retake sovereignty and achieve national reunification.

Nevertheless, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group of murderers inflicted a fatal wound on student Yi Han-yol by firing a tear gas shell at him and killed him in cold blood. This hair-raising atrocity of the truculent human-butchers must never be pardoned, the speaker said with indignation. He further said: The Chon Tu-hwan-No-Tae-u group is not only resorting to all manner of tricks in an attempt to block the mounting action of the South Korean people and prolong the military dictatorship at any cost but also issued a suppressive order on mounting a tear gas attack on empty-handed people in a peaceful demonstration. Their atrocity went the length of mobilising armoured cars and multiple launchers to shower tear gas grenades on students who marched in memory of patriotic student Yi Han-yol, the speaker remarked.

It is the U.S. imperialist aggressors who drive out the South Korean military hooligans to the suppression of people and to tear gas attack, he noted. He cited facts to expose that the U.S. imperialists framed up the Chon Tu-hwan military dictatorship with a sinister purpose to keep hold on South Korea indefinitely as their military base for aggression and zealously encouraged the South Korean puppets to suppress and obliterate all the progressive forces

standing in the ways of their colonial fascist rule in a sanguinary way by employing all conceivable means and methods.

Workers from various factories in the city took the floor at the meeting. They said: The U.S. imperialists must give up their foolish attempt to prop up their crumbling colonial fascist rule over South Korea by resorting to the double-faced tactics of appeasement and suppression, get out of South Korea, taking along nuclear weapons and all aggression forces, and the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group must give up the plots to prolong the military fascist dictatorship and step down without delay.

An appeal to the South Korean workers was adopted at the meeting. It calls upon all the South Korean workers to unite with the people of all strata in resolutely opposing the production and use of tear gas bombs and launch an extensive campaign against tear gas shells.

/6662  
CSO: 4100/280

## VNS LAUDS STRUGGLE ON STUDENT FUNERAL DAY

SK160429 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0200 GMT 11 Jul 8

[Dialogue between Yun Chun-won and an unidentified announcer: "Explosion of Grudge and United Demonstrations"]

[Text] [Announcer] How are you?

[Yun Chong-won] How are you?

[Announcer] With the funeral service for patriotic martyr Yi Han-yol, who was ruthlessly killed by the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u murderous group, as an occasion, mass anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggles were staged in Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, Taejon, and other cities across the country. Will you, first of all, explain briefly what happened on 9 July?

[Yun] On 9 July, funeral service and memorial rallies for martyr Yi Han-yol were held in Seoul, Kwangju, and other cities throughout the country. Initiated by a funeral service arranged by the general students association of Yonsei University, a mass anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggle was waged in Seoul. At 0700 on 9 July, a funeral service was held in Yongsei University with some 50,000 people participating, including student representatives from many universities, citizens, professors of Yonsei University, representatives from many democratic organizations; the bereaved family; Kim Tae chung, cochairman of the Council for the Promotion of Democracy; Kim Yong-sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party; Father Kim Sung-hun; Rev O Chung-il; Father Pak Sung-hun; and Pak Ki-wan.

[Announcer] The funeral service was reportedly filled with sadness at having lost Yi Han-yol and firm resolve to take vengeance for it with out fail.

[Yun] Black banners and portraits of Yi han-yol were displayed on Yonsei University campus. Also seen on campus were pictures showing Yi Han-yol trampling to death octopuses with the faces of Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u and rising to heaven, pictures manifesting hatred against the United States supporting the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring, and placards reading "Revive Yi Han-yol" and "Patriotic student Yi Han-yol."

Amid a solemn atmosphere, Rev O Chi-hun delivered a sermon, Ko Un read a poem of condolence, and Yonsei University professors, the chairman of the Yonsei

University General Students association, and other figures delivered memorial speeches. Yi Han-yol's mother shouted: "Down with the Murderers!" and "Your friends and many people have gathered to take vengeance for you." A great many people sharpened their determination to topple the military and fascist dictatorship without fail, chanting such slogans as "All the people aspire for democracy," "We are democrats, except for the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring," "Down with the dictators," "Let us fight for democracy," "Overthrow the murderous regime indiscriminately discharging tear gas canisters," and "Let us take vengeance against Yi Han-yol's enemy."

[Announcer] Following the funeral service in yonsei university, the bier left for Kwangju.

[Yun] When the bier and mourners arrived in the plaza in front of Seoul City Hall, the number of participants increased to approximately 1 million people. They shouted such anti-U.S. and antigovernment slogans as "Down with dictatorship," "Let us take vengeance against Yi Han-yol's enemy," and "The United States must stop support for Chon Tu-hwan." Also, many students and citizens burned flags of the United States and Japan, which were flying on the flag poles of the Plaza Hotel in front of the city hall, and many demonstrators lowered the Olympic flag on top of the city hall and placed a portrait of martyr Yi Han-yol. Furthermore, many youths, students, and citizens, who were unable to hold back their sadness over having lost patriotic martyr Yi Han-yol, tried to march toward Chongwadae, shouting "Let us topple dictatorship" and "let us march toward Chongwadae." They staged a fierce demonstration for over 3 hours in confrontation with the suppressive police which were indiscriminately firing tear gas canisters with armored cars ahead of them.

Every place in Seoul where the bier and mourners passed by and where demonstration struggles were staged, many citizens waved their hands, clapped, and chanted slogans together, unsparingly extending their support and encouragement.

[Announcer] Therefore, foreign news media also described the demonstration in Seoul as the largest one since the 1960s. A mass struggle was waged in Kwangju too.

[Yun] That is true.. At around 1800, 6 hours after the bier left Seoul, it arrived in Kwangju, Yi Han-yol's hometown and a city of grudge where the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring had relentlessly slaughtered thousands of citizens. Kwangju citizens hung a placard reading "Kwangju expresses condolence over the death of Yi han-yol, a democratic fighter" on the wall of a building across the provincial administration hall. They waited for the arrival of the bier, harboring sadness at having lost the patriotic student and indignation against the Chon tu-hwan-no Tae-u murderous ring in downtown Kwangju and Chinhung High School from which yi Han-yol graduated. The number of citizens there reached almost 300,000.

When a line of 60 vehicles escorting the bier arrived in Kwangju, approximately 200 cars followed it and citizens lining up in the street

expressed condolence to it. After memorial rallies in Chunghung High School, the Kumnam Street, and in front of Kwangju YMCA, the bier left for Mangwodong cemetery. When it reached the plaza in front of the provincial administration building, some 100,000 youths, students, and masses of all walks of life swarmed to the plaza, chanting such slogans as "Down with dictatorship," "Americans must discontinue their support for Chon Tu-hwan," and "Let us drive the Yankees out of the country." Also, they set a police bus on fire, demolished the main gate and iron fence of the provincial administration hall, and fiercely fought with the suppressive police indiscriminately firing tear gas canisters.

[Announcer] I hear that this struggle continued until the dawn of 10 July even after the funeral service had ended in Kwangju.

[Yun] That is right. After interring the coffin, approximately 3,000 students and citizens continued their struggle until around 0300 hours on 10 July. They staunchly fought against the suppressive policemen running wild in repression, shouting anti-U.S. and antigovernment slogans in front of the provincial administration hall and the catholic center. Furthermore, hundreds of taxis wages a demonstration, turning on emergency lights and honking horns.

In addition, struggles were also waged in 25 local cities, including Pusan and Taejon. In Pusan, tens of thousands of youths, students, and citizens gathered in front of the Pusan railway station, held a memorial service for Yi Han-yol, and sharpened their resolve to take vengeance against the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tai-u murderous ring. The mother of Pak Chong-chol, who was ruthlessly tortured to death by the fascist and dictatorial group, attended this function and made the participants surge with resentment against the fascist and murderous group.

[Announcer] Indeed, the funeral service for Yi Han-yol and memorial rallies and demonstrations in Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, and other cities were an eruption of pent-up grudge against the murderous Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring and a just demonstration of the united might of our masses demanding true democratization.

[Yun] That is correct. The funeral service for Yi han-yol was held in the name of a democratic people; the largest-scale memorial rallies were held in Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, Taejon, and other cities; and a nationwide anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggle was staged. This is viewed as showing our masses' invincible will to overthrow the murderous Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring without fail by developing his death into a flame of democracy without making it fruitless. Their struggle was indeed a righteous and laudable act. The struggle was not merely a funeral service over the sacrifice of yi Han-yol, but another fierce democratization march of our masses who were resolved to bury the pro-U.S. lackeys and fascist murderers, holding such placards reading "Let us not make the death of patriotic martyr Yi Han-yol go in vain" and "Let us develop the sacrifice of han Yol into a flame of democracy" and shouting such slogans as "Down with dictatorship," "Let us establish a democratic government," and "We oppose the United states supporting dictatorship." Also, the struggle is viewed as demonstrating the united might of our masses.

[Announcer] In Seoul alone, approximately 1 million students and citizens attended this function. This is an unprecedented event. Even a U.S. diplomat said that he had never seen such a large-scale funeral service in his life. It is believed that the nationwide anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggle with the funeral service for Yi Man-yol as an occasion implied many things.

[Yun] That is true. First of all, the demonstration on the day of the funeral service for Yi Han-yol showed how strong and great our masses' aspirations for democratization are. Over the past period of more than 40 years, our masses have lived in a grave of democracy, where even the slightest freedom has been infringed upon and obliterated, under the U.S. colonial and fascist rule. Our people, who have lived under the rule of Syngman Rhee, the 18 years of Pak Chong-hui's Yusin dictatorship, and the rule of the Kwangju murder, can no longer live in this frozen land of democracy.

Over the past period, many countless fighters sacrificed themselves to the altar of democracy. Because they treasured independence and democracy, Pak Chong-chol this year, Kim Tae-hun in 1981, Hong Chong-ha in 1983, and Kim Se-chin, Yi Chae-ho, and Yi Tong-hyo last year, and many other hot-blooded students sacrificed themselves. Like them, Yonsei University student Yi Han-yol also did the same.

The unanimous aspirations of our masses precisely independence and democracy which are more valuable than life. The demonstration struggle on the day of the funeral service for Yi Han-yol is viewed as reflecting these burning aspirations.

[Announcer] I think there is nothing that can thwart our masses' aspirations for democratization heated through this struggle as well as the people's will to overthrow the pro-U.S. military dictatorship and eliminate the U.S. colonial and fascist rule. In particular, the struggle showed that the U.S. aggressors and the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring, a group of their lackeys, cannot deceive our people by any craft.

[Yun] The masses are wise. They can never be deceived by whatever trickery and machinations. Faced by serious political crisis due to our masses' June resistance, the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring issued a so-called 29 June special statement. Even a little infant knows that this followed a scenario written by the U.S. masters. The Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring can never deceive our masses with methods for coping with the situation--a measure to maintain the military and dictatorial regime. Through historical experiences, our masses are well aware that fascist dictatorship does not present democracy of its own volition and genuine democracy can be achieved only through struggle. It can be said that the demonstration struggle on the day of the funeral service showed through practice that our masses do not have even a slight delusion of the Chon Tu-hwan-no Tae-u ring's deceptive tactics and genuine democratization can be achieved through struggle.

[Announcer] That is right. Genuine democratization should be achieved through the united struggle of the masses. It can be said that traitor Chon

Tu-hwan's resignation from the DJP presidency is an outcome of our masses' nationwide anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggle. Therefore, they should not be misled by the methods to cope with the situation, but continue to valiantly deal one blow after another to (?traitor Chon Tu-hwan). The patriotic masses of all walks of life should continue to staunchly fight under the upheld banner of the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle until they achieve genuine democracy, establish a democratic government, and expel the U.S. troops out of this land.

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